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# THE YINDJIBARNDI LANGUAGE

by

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## PREFACE

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PART I  
PRACTICAL GRAMMAR



# YINDJIBARNDI GRAMMAR

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. The Language

#### 1.1.1. Brief Description

Yindjibarndi has a six-way contrast in point of articulation in respect of stop consonants. This division is mirrored in the nasal series. The resonants are not so uniformly allocated. There are two 'r's, a glide and a flap/trill, two 'y's (an ordinary palatal and a very unusual interdental), but only a single 'w'. A zero resonant occurs at velar position. On rare occasions, this zero resonant is manifested as a glottal stop.

Yindjibarndi follows a typical Australian pattern in having three short vowels, i, a and u, together with three long counterparts, which contrast in all positions. There is also a long 'o', which occurs in extremely limited environments.

A number of interesting phonological processes can be observed in the language, including lenition, u assimilation and nasal-plus-stop consonant cluster dissimilation. Stress is not constant, but is predictably placed. Long vowels are a disturbing factor. Syllable structure is not simple.

Yindjibarndi words belong to four parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, indeclineables and verb stems. There are two kinds of word endings, suffixes and clitics. Prefixes do not occur, a characteristic of Pama-Nyungan languages in general. The three general classes occupied by nouns are common, proper and retroflex, the latter possessing only a single member. There are also two small closed classes, which contain compass points and river directions. Nouns are declined through eight cases, namely nominative (having optional classifiers for proper and retroflex nouns), objective, genitive, comitative, instrumental, locative (with numerous subtypes), ablative

and allative (three different kinds). Nouns may occur in the singular, dual and plural. There are many irregular plural number markers, two of which are homophonous with allative case markers!

The personal pronouns occur in three persons (the third person forms also acting as demonstratives), three numbers and two generation levels (same or adjacent). There are also special indeclineable inclusive forms for the second person dual and plural. Singular forms of the personal pronouns decline irregularly for the most part through the eight cases, while dual and plural forms are nearly all regular. Only two of the latter do not belong to the common noun class. Interrogative pronouns occur in free and bound forms, all of them finding membership in either the common, proper or retroflex noun class. Certain ones may be used as indefinite and even relative pronouns. There is one reflexive pronoun.

Indeclineables are invariant words, something like adverbs and conjunctions in English. They will only accept clitics.

Verb stems belong to four classes: Ø, L, R and N. The verb stem for 'see' is the only irregular one in the language, having three irregularly distributed stem variants. Even so, it is still conjugated regularly as a Ø-stem verb. Many Ø-stem verbs are transitive, and some verb stems in other classes are intransitive. Verb stems may be inflected in two tenses, present and past; four moods, potential, optative (active and passive), irrealis and imperative; and five aspects, imperfective (dependent and independent), perfective (active and passive), habitual, progressive and (dependent) infinitive. These endings cannot be combined.

Yindjibarndi is interesting syntactically. It is more similar to English than most Aboriginal languages, being - in familiar terms - of the Nominative/Accusative type. There is also a passive voice, although it works somewhat differently from English. Even though all permutations are possible, the normal structure for transitive sentences seems to be Subject Verb Object with Subject Object Verb a common alternative. Imperative sentences are perhaps the most interesting sentence type. Conjoined clauses are not as common as in English, but they do occur relatively frequently. Temporal and spatial clauses, along with relative clauses and reason and condition clauses, are essentially identical to conjoined clauses. The latter are superficially differentiated through the use of interrogative pronouns, the causal suffix and the determiner clitic, respectively. Rare occurrences of disjunction can be observed in Yindjibarndi.

### 1.1.2. Present Situation

Yindjibarndi is described here as it is spoken in Roebourne, Western Australia. Although Roebourne is situated deep in Ngarluma territory, Yindjibarndi is the principal Aboriginal language, being spoken not only by native Yindjibarndies, but also by members of other nations as well.<sup>1</sup> In fact Yindjibarndi is the first language of most Ngarlumas and Marduthuniras, whose own languages are for all practical purposes extinct.<sup>2</sup> It is also spoken as a second language by many members of other resident language groups, which still claim a substantial number of speakers, namely Kurrama and Pandjima.<sup>3</sup> Thus, Yindjibarndi has become a sort of lingua franca, so much so that Aborigines tend to identify it as the language of Ieramugadu Group Inc, an association consisting essentially of all the Aborigines resident in Roebourne. Therefore, if a person belongs to Ieramugadu Group, he is likely to say that he speaks Yindjibarndi no matter how heavy the admixture of words from another language. At the present time there are about 500 Aborigines in Roebourne, and of these I would say that at least 400 are able to speak the Yindjibarndi language with some facility.

Yindjibarndi is also spoken outside of Roebourne, particularly on surrounding stations, three of which<sup>4</sup> belong to Ieramugadu Group. It is heard as far north as Port Hedland, as far south as Carnarvon and as far east as Wittenoon. But Yindjibarndi is only a marginal language in these outlying areas. I would be surprised if it were found that more than 150 speakers dwelled there.

<sup>1</sup>See also O'Grady 1966:73.

<sup>2</sup>See, for example, von Brandenstein 1970:8-11. I was only able to find two fluent speakers for each of these two languages. Robert Churnside, a pensioner of some eighty-five years (now deceased), and Jacob Scroggins, a younger pensioner who is in charge of the Woolshed, impressed me as able Ngarluma speakers. Alf Boona, a middle-aged man, and Algie Paterson, a mature Kurrama living at Mardie Station, can speak Marduthunira well. I suspect that one or two women can also speak Ngarluma with some facility, but frankly I doubt that any additional really capable Marduthunira speakers will turn up. Now even though Ngarluma has become nearly extinct, it has left behind a substantial amount of vocabulary, which has embedded itself in Yindjibarndi and surfaces from time to time as synonyms for Yindjibarndi words. For example, Ngarluma *kumpali* *brother-in-law* and *kumpu* *urine* seem to occur in Yindjibarndi speech about as often as the corresponding Yindjibarndi terms, which are respectively *marrkanhu* and *kuwarta*.

<sup>3</sup>Both of these languages have about fifty speakers each. Most Pandjima speakers reside in Onslow, where Pandjima is the principal language. Speakers of other Ngayardic languages, like Nyamal and Pailgu, are not numerous in Roebourne. See also Wordick 1977.

<sup>4</sup>They are Mt. Welcome, Woodbrook and Chiratta.

### 1.1.3. Dialects

I can find almost no real evidence for dialectical variation within Yindjibarndi. The phonology is nearly invariant. Only one phonological rule seems to have a limited distribution among Yindjibarndi speakers. It is the one described in 2.2.14 (see the second footnote). The grammar also appears to be unitary. There is some variation in the use of verbalisers, but the secondary derivations are most likely borrowings from other languages or just plain errors. For example, *parntaya-* (VL) *find* alternates with the little used *parntayi-* (VN). With these two forms compare Kurrama *kuwartaya-* (VL), Yindjibarndi *kuwartayi-* (VN) *urinate*. The word for *kick* in Yindjibarndi is *tharlaa-* (VL). The root *tharla-* apparently means *knee* (see von Brandenstein 1975:18,186). However, one Yindjibarndi consistently uses the form *tharlayi-* (VN). With it compare Kurrama *kurtkayi-* (V) *listen (to)* in which *kurtka* means *ear*. Finally, another Yindjibarndi once volunteered that it was possible to say *puyuya-* (VL) for *puyui-* (VN) *sing (off)*, but that it was not as good. Clearly, *puyuya-* (VL) should be avoided.

However, certain minor lexical variations do occur within idiolects. For example, Long Mack consistently uses the form *thuu-* (VL) to mean *spear with a thrown object*, while most everyone else employs *thuwai-* (VN).<sup>1</sup> But one of Hale's informants will use either (see 1959a:11,39). For *silky pear*, a kind of milkweed bearing edible pear-shaped pods, we observe the following alternants: *mimityangu* (Jerry Jerrold and Harold and Cheedy Ned), *kakurli* or *kakurlira* (Gilbert Bobby) and *kakurla* (the majority).

It is possible that these lexical variants reflect previous geographical dialects, but it is impossible to demonstrate this at the present time. This is because the various local groups left their countries soon after European colonization began and settled on different stations, mixing together and with other local groups, speaking different languages, in an almost haphazard fashion. I have been told by the Yindjibarndi themselves that the language(s) an Aboriginal speaks is more likely to reflect which station he was brought up on rather than which country his ancestors came from.<sup>2</sup>

It is also possible that certain of these variant terms are borrowings from adjacent languages. For example, I suspect that *warparra*, apparently a rare synonym for *mirru woomera*, is in fact a

<sup>1</sup>For an analysis of these two verb stems see 3.1.4.1.3.2.

<sup>2</sup>This explains why Algie Paterson, a Kurrama, speaks such good Marduthunira.

borrowing of Ngarluma warlparra, which has been modified according to Yindjibarndi lenition rules.<sup>1</sup> In the case of wiyunu *euro*, I am certain that it has been borrowed from Pandjima and been suitably modified. Compare Yindjibarndi pattyarri *euro* with its Pandjima synonym wityunu. Some multilinguals are well aware of the lenition correspondences linking Yindjibarndi with the most conservative Ngayardic languages.

#### 1.1.4. Historical Context<sup>2</sup>

Yindjibarndi is surrounded on all sides by Ngayardic languages to which it is related (see Map). It is most closely related to those languages which lie beyond its southern border, namely Kurrama (Kurrama) and Pandjima (Panytyima). It is particularly closely related to the former, which is situated to the southwest. Yindjibarndi and Kurrama are about as similar as Czech and Polish and are about as mutually comprehensible. The two languages possess identical phonological systems. They share a characteristic unique among Ngayardic languages, which is that of being able to lenite peripheral stops in medial position between vowels. Their grammars are also very similar. They share a large number of cognates. Thus, some linguists may want to consider them as dialects of the same unnamed language.<sup>3</sup>

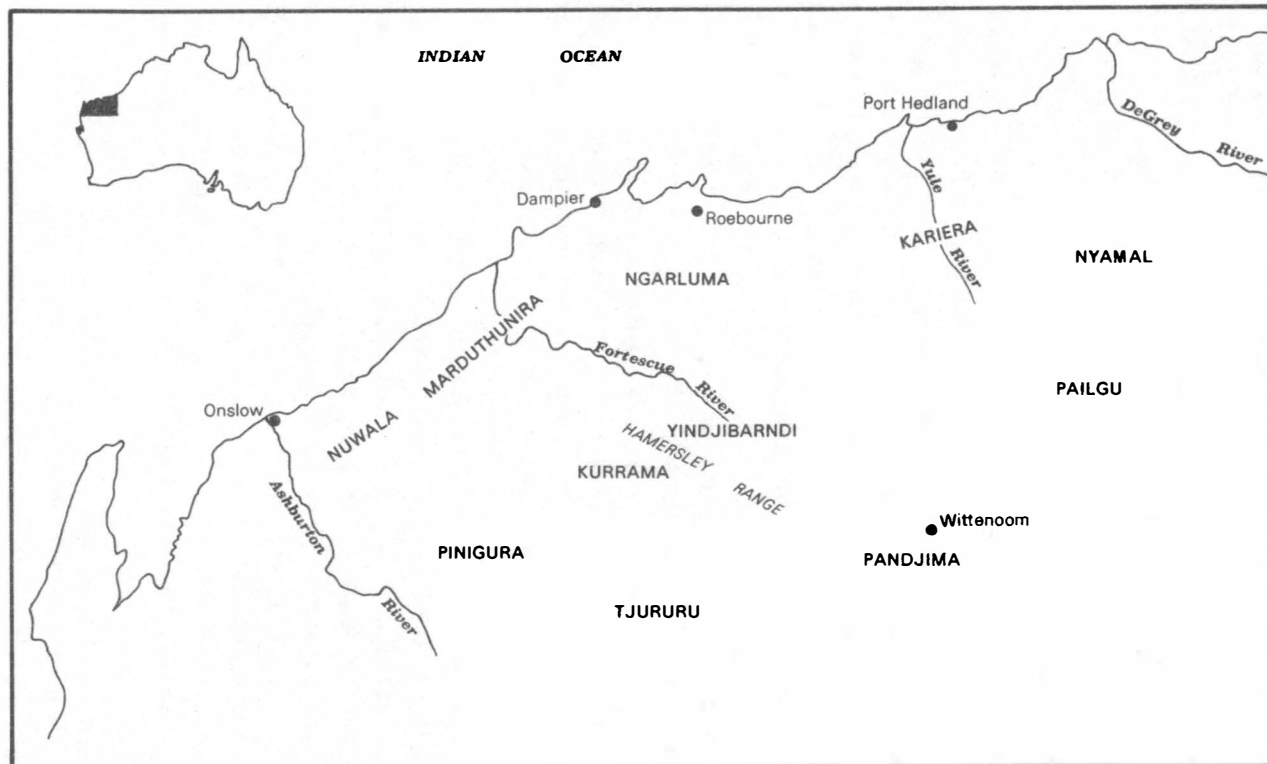
Be that as it may, I have not included a description of Kurrama in this book. This is mainly because the Yindjibarndi and Kurrama themselves consider their respective languages to be different. They say that the similarities which exist between them indicate that they are 'brother' languages. Moreover, even though the two languages share the same phonological system, the distribution of phonological units within the cognate morphemes may be quite different. This stems from the fact that the historical phonological rules which describe the relationship between Proto-Ngayardic and Yindjibarndi on the one hand and Proto-Ngayardic and Kurrama on the other are different.<sup>4</sup> There are also some cultural differences, which sharply separate the Kurrama from the Yindjibarndi, the most important of which is the practice of subincision.

<sup>1</sup>Consider also what Radcliffe-Brown (1913:160-61) has to say about people who formerly dwelled along language borders.

<sup>2</sup>See also O'Grady 1966:73-74, 84-85 and O'Grady and others 1966:80-103.

<sup>3</sup>As O'Grady in O'Grady 1966:73 and O'Grady and others 1966:91 has already done. See also Radcliffe-Brown 1912a:144.

<sup>4</sup>See O'Grady's (1966:86-93) excellent discussion.



Map: The Yindjibarndi Area



Pandjima, which lies to the east of Kurrama, is more distantly related to Yindjibarndi than is Kurrama. However, it is still not very far off. A knowledge of Pandjima would be especially useful to anyone engaged in a historical study of Yindjibarndi. This is because Pandjima seems to resemble an unlenited Yindjibarndi except that it and its brother language Pailgu (Pailku) appear to lenite flapped 'r'.

Ngarluma (Ngarluma) and Kariera (Kariyarra), two brother languages to the north of Yindjibarndi, are a step further away in genealogical distance. Even so, they do lenite apical stops intervocally like Yindjibarndi (and Kurrama) and share many cognates with it.

Marduthunira (Martuyhunira), the language bordering on the west of Yindjibarndi, appears to be even more distantly related to it than Ngarluma and Kariera, although it is difficult to say anything for certain, since Marduthunira has never been studied in any depth. It is clear, however, that Marduthunira, like Yindjibarndi and Kurrama, lenites laminal stops in medial position between vowels.

The two languages which are located to the east of Yindjibarndi, namely Nyamal (Nyamal) and Pailgu, appear to be the least similar to Yindjibarndi of all the Ngayardic languages. For one thing they are the only non-Nominative/Accusative languages in the entire subgroup. For another, these languages are unique among Ngayardic languages in being able to mark verbs for subject and object. Finally, neither shares leniting traits with Yindjibarndi at all.

The other Ngayardic languages, which do not abut on Yindjibarndi, are Ngarla (Ngarla) in the north and Nuwala (Nhuwala), Tjururu (Tyurruru) and Pinigura (Pinikurra) in the south. The former is similar to Nyamal. Of the latter three, the first appears to be most similar to Marduthunira, while latter two apparently resemble Yindjibarndi and Kurrama.

The Ngayardic languages as a whole are bounded by the Marrngic subgroup on the north, the Watic subgroup on the east and the Kanyaric subgroup on the south. The Indian Ocean lies to the immediate west.

## 1.2. Informants

My principal informants were Gilbert Bobby (Yurtarriny), Ken M. Jerrold (Pityin), Long Mack (Yinpirrpa), and Harold (Arrarli) and Cheedy (Tyirti) Ned. Gilbert Bobby, a half Yindjibarndi half Kurrama man in his middle forties, possesses an in-depth knowledge of Yindjibarndi grammar and an extensive repertoire of sacred tales. He was glad to share these with me. Ken M. Jerrold, who says he is

of one-quarter Western Desert stock, is a superb story-teller. He can make one up at a moment's notice. Long Mack, a pensioner, is evidently one hundred percent Yindjibarndi. He has a fine-honed ability to pick out loan words in texts and to provide variants for Yindjibarndi words. The Ned brothers, Harold and Cheedy, also pure Yindjibarndies, were happy to dictate a number of non-sacred stories and a substantial amount of vocabulary items. I owe these five informants a great debt of gratitude for putting up with my incessant questions without losing their patience and for supplying the great bulk of information which made this work possible.

I would also like to point out that many other members of Ieramugadu Group Inc. supplied useful linguistic data, sometimes only in terms of a word or two or perhaps a bit of grammatical information, but each of the following provided something: Alf Boona, Cherry Cheedy, Robert Churnside, Coppin Dale, Dempsey Hicks, Morris Jacob, Henry Jerrold, Jerry Jerrold, Maudie Jerrold, Tim Kerr, Wilbur Kerr, Woodley King, Yilbie King, Eric Miller, Jacob Miller, Jack Moses, Algie Paterson, Jack Ray, Jacob Scroggins, Desley Smith, Jack Smith, Lilla Snowball, Wilson Wally and Jack Wedge. I also wish to thank anyone else whose name I may have forgotten to mention.

### 1.3. Field Research<sup>1</sup>

Research on the Yindjibarndi language is divided into two periods. The first extends from 1896 to 1911. During this fifteen year period linguistic data were collected as a secondary pursuit by anthropologists, who were engaged in ethnographic research. Almost all of the data consists of vocabulary items.

For instance, Clement gathered enough vocabulary, supposedly on the 'Gnalluma' language to fill three printed pages (1903:14-16), while doing ethnographic research in Roebourne, Western Australia and environs during the period 1896-1898. This list is in fact full of 'Ingibandi' words, demonstrating that by the turn of the century, Yindjibarndi was already a major language in the area. For example, the first word in the list, which is 'cunjerie' "one", is obviously to be equated with Yindjibarndi kunytyirri and not with its Ngarluma synonym kuntyimu.

Then in 1911 Radcliffe-Brown, accompanied by Bates, visited the same area to collect social anthropological data mainly on the Kariera,

<sup>1</sup>Earlier summations can be found in O'Grady 1966:77-78 and von Brandenstein 1970:VII-IX.

Ngarluma and Marduthunira for his famous 'Three Tribes of Western Australia' article. The name 'Indjibandî' is mentioned in this paper (see, for example, Radcliffe-Brown 1913:143), and in a slightly earlier one (1912b) a couple of Yindjibarndî words appear. However, Radcliffe-Brown's language vocabularies (1910-12, 1926-1931, parts 3 and 11) do not contain any Yindjibarndî words. Bates (n.d.), working at the same time, did acquire a substantial amount of information on the Yindjibarndî language by submitting one of her very detailed questionnaires to S.H. Meares of Tambrey Station.

All of the data discussed above is for the most part only of historical interest, since it is not really of good phonetic quality.

After a gap of some forty years, linguistic data on the Yindjibarndî language began to appear again. However, this time the orientation of the field research was primarily linguistic and it was performed by professional linguists: In 1954 and again in 1958 O'Grady gathered a certain amount of linguistic data on Yindjibarndî, while engaged in field research on a number of different languages. In between the two field excursions, he solicited vocabulary items in the form of a questionnaire. The results of his research can be found in O'Grady 1957-58, 1966 and 1968, and O'Grady and others 1966. Then at the turn of the decade Hale made a visit to the Roebourne area. He worked mainly on Ngarluma, but also collected a large quantity of complex sentential material on Yindjibarndî. His very useful field notes are stored in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies library (see Hale 1959a). Next, von Brandenstein did research in and around Roebourne off and on between 1964 and 1968, again principally on Ngarluma, but he also obtained a substantial amount of textual material on Yindjibarndî. The results of his research are contained in two books of texts and two dictionaries (1970, 1975).

Finally, Wordick went into the field in April of 1975 and stayed for a preliminary period of two weeks. He returned in June of the same year and remained in Roebourne for the next twenty months, gathering data almost exclusively on Yindjibarndî. He returned to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in February 1977. Wordick also did a lot of checking old data and eliciting new data on the telephone with his principal informant Gilbert Bobby during 1978, while in residence at the Institute. All his raw field notes are on deposit at the Institute library (see Wordick 1975-).

## 2. SOUND SYSTEM

### 2.1. Segmental Phonology

#### 2.1.1. Orthography

The Yindjibarndi language is written in an orthography which is based on the English alphabet. However, only fifteen letters of this alphabet are relevant to the needs of Yindjibarndi. They are 'a', 'g', 'h', 'i', 'k', 'l', 'm', 'n', 'o', 'p', 'r', 't', 'u', 'w' and 'y'. These letters may be put together in the following manner in order to represent the twenty-six significant sound units in the Yindjibarndi language: a, aa, i, ii, k, l, m, n, ng, nh, ny, oo, p, r, rl, rn, rr, rt, t, th, ty, u, uu, w, y, yh. Now the preceding characters can be rearranged from linear alphabetical order into three two-by-two matrices, one for consonants and two for vowels, keeping the short separate from the long (see accompanying Matrix Displays). These matrices will enable us to more easily present a systematic description of the Yindjibarndi sound system.

#### Matrix Display for Consonants

	1		2		3	
	a	b	c	d	e	f
I.	p	k	th	ty	t	rt
II.	m	ng	nh	ny	n	rn
III.	w		yh	y	rr	r
IV.					l	rl

#### Matrix Display for Short Vowels

i	u
a	

#### Matrix Display for Long Vowels

ii	uu
aa	oo

## 2.1.2. Consonants

### 2.1.2.1. Types of Consonants

In general, all consonants are pronounced with lenis (weak) articulation. Also, except for *rt* and sometimes *rr*, they are pronounced as if they were geminate (doubled) in medial position between vowels. The pronunciation of *rr* varies freely between a flap (e.g., like *t* or *d* between vowels in many dialects of American English) and a trill (i.e., the burry Scots *r*). There seems to be no preference between the two, the same speaker using one variant on one occasion and the other on another. In using the trilled form, it is not usual to flip the tongue more than two or three times.

Referring to the 'Matrix Display for Consonants', the sounds in row I. are called 'stops', because the flow of air through the mouth (and nose) is completely obstructed as they are produced. The only exception to this dictum is *rt*, which is a reverse flap *only* in medial position between vowels (as in certain dialects of American English such as my own). Otherwise it is a normal stop. Stops are voiced in medial position, voiceless peripherally (word initially and finally).<sup>1</sup> They are *always* unaspirated.

The sounds found in row II. are called 'nasals', because air is diverted from the mouth, being allowed to flow through the nose instead. Note that there is a nasal corresponding to each stop in *Yindjibarndi*.

The sounds of row III. are referred to as 'glides', because the articulating apparatus used in their production only 'glides' toward the point of articulation as they are pronounced. The sound *rr* forms an exception. Here the articulator (tip of the tongue) actually touches the point of articulation (alveolar ridge) during part of the duration of its production. In any case air flow through the mouth is at best only partly obstructed during the production of glides. Usually it is only mildly constricted.<sup>2</sup>

The sounds in row IV. are called 'laterals', because the flow of air through the mouth passes around the sides of the tongue - being impeded only at the center - during their production. Note that

<sup>1</sup>On one occasion I actually heard a final trilled *rr* devoiced during the terminal half of its articulation.

<sup>2</sup>If the empty space in this row (often the lenition product of *k*) can be interpreted as a 'zero glide', then there is one case in which air flow is unrestricted.

Yindjibarndi lacks a complete set of laterals, none appearing at the intersection with column 2. If one wishes to write another Ngayardic language which does have laminal laterals, e.g. Ngarluma and Pandjima, he may use lh for the interdental (column c) and ll for the palatal (column d). Please do not use ly for the latter as this represents the cluster alveolar l plus the laminal glide y.

#### 2.1.2.2. Articulation of Consonants

Sounds which occur in column 1. are called 'peripherals', because they are articulated at the extremities of the mouth. Those in column a are called 'bilabials' (made with the two lips), those in column b 'velars' (produced at the velum in the back of the mouth). The reader should be aware of the fact that bilabials in Yindjibarndi manifest a smaller amount of lip rounding than their English counterparts.

The sounds shown in column 2. are 'laminals'. Here the tip of the tongue is behind the lower incisors and the flat surface of the tongue blade hits (in rows I. and II.) or glides toward (in row III.) the biting edge of the upper incisors for interdentals (column c) and the hard palate for palatals (column d).<sup>1</sup> Speakers of English will please bear in mind that, although th does have a fricative release, it is a stop. Therefore, do not pronounce it like th in English. And please do not pronounce ty like English ch! The unusual yh sound resembles a very fronted y. The edges of the tongue often rub the inner sides of the cheeks during its production.

The sounds represented in column 3. are called 'apicals', because they are produced using the tip (apex) of the tongue. For alveolars (column e.) the tip of the tongue hits *precisely* at the alveolar ridge. For 'retroflexes' (column f), the tip of the tongue is retracted to a position more or less (usually the latter) behind that of the alveolar ridge. It is often extremely difficult for the native English speaker to hear the difference between corresponding alveolar and retroflex sounds, even though the two are structurally distinct.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The two series are structurally distinct as is demonstrated by the following brief list of minimal pairs: thulu *face down*, tyulu *all*; nhanti *husband*, nyanti *brow*; ngayi *I*, ngayhi *cries*. The interested reader will be able to find many more such pairs in the Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup>Note the following minimal pairs: mata *climbing sweet-potato*, marta *blood*; mani *part*, rest, marni *mark*; Marra *Gilbert Bobby's country*, mara *hand*; kulu *louse*, kurlu *hot*.

The 'r's form one exception to this statement. It should be somewhat easier to differentiate flapped rr from retroflex r.<sup>1</sup> The other exception is in the stops, where the alveolar remains a stop in medial position between vowels, but the retroflex becomes a reverse flap; that is, the tip of the tongue strikes the post-alveolar velum while travelling from the back of the mouth to the front.

### 2.1.2.3. Distribution of Consonants<sup>2</sup>

In Yindjibarndi not all consonants occur in all available positions within the domain of the word. For example, only the following ones are found regularly in final position: t, rt, ty; n, rn, ny; rr. The sounds m and ng sometimes occur in this position by virtue of the fact that final u may be optionally deleted, when it follows them (see 2.2.1). I also heard an example of final p, when Long Mack on one single occasion dropped the final u in the word *Loopu Friday*. The p was pronounced voiceless. But p also normally occurs in final position in borrowed words like *maap mob*, oblique stem *maapu-*.

All consonants are found medially between vowels. However, w cannot occur between u's, nor can y occur between i's or between u and i (in that order). See 2.2.11 and 2.2.9, respectively.

Only peripherals and laminals, excluding yh, normally occur in word initial position. r occurs once in initial position in the borrowed term *rapit rabbit*, t occurs a few times in borrowings, e.g. *Tampia Dampier*, *tii* (varying with *thii*) *tea*, and i occurs once in the anomalous term *Loopu Friday*.

Velar and interdental stops and nasals do not ordinarily occur initially before i. In fact nh is not common in initial position before any vowel. The sequence ki occurs initially in the following six items: the three sure borrowings *kii key*, *kiitaa guitar* and *kimiti civil boss*, onomatopoeic *kitakita tap-tap*, the proper name<sup>3</sup> *Kiyaki Clarence Bobby* and *kilirr ornamental bullroarer*. The sequence thi occurs initially in two obvious borrowings, *thii* (varying with *tii*) *tea* and *thingkithingki bell*.

The restrictions on the occurrence of the two rhotics, r and rr, are quite interesting, being of the co-occurrence type. In the first

<sup>1</sup>The reader will note that retroflex r is not rounded as it is in English.

<sup>2</sup>See O'Grady (1966:91-92).

<sup>3</sup>Proper names are in general to be regarded with suspicion, often being borrowed, e.g. *Arrarli Harold Ned*.

place the sequence \*rVr does not occur at all in Yindjibarndi, unless V is long; e.g. *kuruuru plump*. Thus, if the sequence rV occurs first, and a second syllable containing a rhotic plus vowel follows, then the second rhotic will be rr, regardless of whether a morpheme boundary does or does not intervene.

The situation with respect to rrVrr is similar except that the alternation restriction only applies, if a morpheme boundary comes between the two syllables. Thus, a sequence of two rr's in a row does obtain in the monomorphemic suffix -rrirri, which is found in the names for two kinds of birds, i.e. *minpirirri kestrel* and *wiirrirri blue wren*. However, if the sequence rrV occurs first in a word, and a suffix or verbaliser containing a rhotic plus vowel is added on, then the second rhotic will always be r. This constraint is most noticeable in the derivation of inchoative verb stems from nouns. -ri- (VØ) only appears after rrV where one would otherwise expect -rri- (VØ). For examples see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2. But again, the constraint does not hold when V is long, e.g. *waruurraa twilight* (cf. *warru night*). Nor does it hold, when a consonant intervenes, e.g. *Purlinytyirrimarra*.<sup>1</sup> And it certainly does not prevent two rr's from being joined directly together (see 2.2.3).

#### 2.1.2.4. Consonant Clusters<sup>2</sup>

Consonant clusters only occur in medial position between vowels. Such clusters are all diconsonantal. The following ones have been observed intramorphemically:

homorganic nasal plus stop: mp, nhth, nt, rnrt, nyty, ngk

non-homorganic nasal plus stop: np, rnp; nty; nk, rnk, nyk

One could also expect to find the sequence \*nyp to complement the observed sequence nyk, which is not common intramorphemically, e.g. *manyka son*.

glide plus stop: rp; rrk, rk, yk

The cluster rrp does occur in the name *Yinpirrpa Long Mack*, but because it occurs only in a name, I regard it as suspicious. The

<sup>1</sup>This is the proper name of a certain emu-man (see Text 72). -marra here is certainly a suffix as it occurs over and over again in the names of other emu-men; e.g. *Yartanymarra*, *Nyaarrimarra*, etc.

<sup>2</sup>O'Grady (1966:84) comments on Proto-Ngayardic consonant clusters and then over the next several pages discusses their reflexes in Yindjibarndi and other daughter languages.



sequence \*yp is not to be expected.<sup>1</sup>

stop plus stop: tp, typ; tty

nasal plus nasal: nng; rnm, rnng

One would also expect to find nm; nny, rnny. These clusters do occur in the verb suffixes -nma, -nnyaa and -rnnyaa; however, I have analysed these suffixes as being bimorphemic in the Dictionary (which see).

rr and l plus glide: rrw, rry; ly

The sequence \*lw definitely does not occur.<sup>2</sup>

Other consonant clusters may also occur, but they are too suspicious to list, e.g. rrm in Wirrma *Jack Ray* and Karrminy *Ginger Samson*.

If one permits a morpheme boundary to occur within the consonant cluster, the following clusters are or could be observed:<sup>3</sup>

1. Cp, Cth, Cty, Ck; Cm, Cnh, Cny, Cng - where  
C = t, rt, ty; n, rn, ny

In this respect note that:

- pa is the emphatic clitic
- th- is a morpheme separator
- tyarri- is an inchoative verbaliser  
for nouns ending in C
- ku is the objective case marker  
for nouns ending in C
- mu is the anaphoric clitic
- nha is the proper noun classifier
- nyaa is the allocative suffix
- ngarli is the generic plural suffix

11. Due to the assimilation of l after n, rn, rt, to t, rt, ty, respectively, the sequences nt, rnrt, nyty also occur (see 2.2.4).

<sup>1</sup>While Proto-Ngayardic \*llk produces Yindjibarndi yk (cf. Ngarluma mallkan, Yindjibarndi maykan, Kurrama matykan *mountain gum*), Proto-Ngayardic \*llp reflects as typ (cf. Ngarluma pillparra, Yindjibarndi pityparra *dessicated*; Ngarluma pillparrara, Yindjibarndi pityparrara *milkfish*).

<sup>2</sup>Do, however, see Hale 1960:97.

<sup>3</sup>The geminate clusters, which result, are automatically simplified to single consonants by phonological rule (see 2.2.3). It might also be worth pointing out that when interdental follows C as in kurrarkurrarntarnrtu (see also footnote to Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 2) and Yurtarrinyha (cf. Yurtarriny *Gilbert Bobby*), the resulting clusters seem somewhat 'funny', even though Gilbert Bobby says there is nothing wrong with them.

111. rrp,<sup>1</sup> rrk,<sup>2</sup> rrm, rrng, rrrha, rrry, rrw,<sup>3</sup> rryh, rry

### 2.1.3. Vowels

#### 2.1.3.1. Short Vowels

Each of the three short vowels<sup>4</sup> shown in the 'Matrix Display for Short Vowels' has two different pronunciations. These are governed by the specific contexts in which vowels appear. One pronunciation is that of a high, relatively tense and close vowel, while the other is low, lax and open. Intramorphemically, the distribution is as follows: The low, lax and open variant occurs before p, k, th, t; m, ng, nh, n; yh, r, rl. The high, tense, close variant occurs everywhere else,<sup>5</sup> including before another vowel and before nothing (word boundary). When a morpheme boundary occurs between a vowel and its conditioning environment (i.e. the following consonant), the high, tense, close variant replaces the low, lax, open one everywhere except before mp, n + consonant,<sup>6</sup> ngk and r - and with some speakers even before ng + vowel.<sup>7</sup>

The tense pronunciation of i resembles 'i' in the word 'radio' or 'ee' in 'beet' in American or cultivated British English. It does not resemble at all the diphthong commonly heard in Australian English. The lax pronunciation resembles 'i' in English 'bit'.

The tense pronunciation of a resembles the 'o' in 'cot' in many varieties of Mid-Western American English,<sup>8</sup> except that the mouth

<sup>1</sup>This cluster occurs in the term *thangkarrpa that's enough, I said* (see 2.2.12).

<sup>2</sup>See, for example, the term *maarrka* in the Dictionary.

<sup>3</sup>These latter three clusters arise when the emphatic clitic and the two forms of the determiner are attached to nouns ending in rr. Gilbert Bobby insists that yh and y can also occur after C as well; e.g. see the footnote to Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 2. See also 2.2.10.

<sup>4</sup>As demonstrated by the following minimal sets: *yirra edge*, *yarra shield*, *yurra sun*; *marti trail*, *marta blood*, *martu space*.

<sup>5</sup>However, before rt, rn; rr, i this high variant is lowered slightly to a position which is still above the low variant.

<sup>6</sup>This exception does not hold in the case of clitics, so that the i in *ngayimpa I'm the one* is high, tense and close.

<sup>7</sup>When this happens, the high variant is lowered somewhat. One can notice this comparing the pronunciation of i in *maningaa others* with that of it in *pangkarringu going*. In the first instance, i sounds high (by unconscious comparison with the following very low vowel), while in the second it sounds low.

<sup>8</sup>That is, it resembles the 'a' in 'father', but is only about half as long.

should be opened wider. The lax pronunciation resembles the 'u' in 'but' in British or Australian English, being much lower and more open than in American English.

The tense pronunciation of u resembles 'oo' in English 'boot' or 'moot'. The lax pronunciation falls below the level of the tense pronunciation, but usually well above the pronunciation of 'u' in 'put'.

#### 2.1.3.2. Long Vowels

Referring to the 'Matrix Display for Long Vowels', one can see that Yindjibarndi possesses four long vowels, one more than the number of short ones. The long vowels are ii, aa, uu, oo.<sup>1</sup> The first three have corresponding short vowels,<sup>2</sup> but not the latter.

Long vowels, when pronounced as such, are always high, relatively tense and close. Thus, they are pronounced like tense variants of their short vowel correspondents except that they are about twice as long. The following pronunciation hints may be noted:

ii is pronounced like 'ea' in 'bead' in cultivated British or American English.

aa is pronounced like 'a' in 'father'.

uu is pronounced like 'oo' in English 'mood'.

oo is pronounced like 'oa' in English 'toad'.  
Do not pronounce oo as in English 'mood'.

All long vowels - except oo - may also be pronounced with audible medial breaking, that is, as if they were a sequence of two identical short vowels, ordinarily with a volume decrease or trough separating them, but rarely with an intervening glottal catch. In this situation, the pronunciation of the two short parts of the long vowel is governed by the pronunciation rules for short vowels already given above. oo may be pronounced as uwa everywhere except in the word *Loopu Friday* (see 2.2.14).

However, this does not mean that long vowels are merely sequences of two identical short vowels. There exist two factors which make it difficult to treat them in this manner:

<sup>1</sup>There is a solitary example of ee in my notes; to wit, *wanhthiwee* (cf. *wanhthiwayi*) *how are you!*, where ee seems to be a reduced form of *ayi* (see 2.2.14).

<sup>2</sup>For example, note the following minimal pairs: *maarta right (hand)*, *marta blood*; *wirkaa shoulder*, *wirka gap*; *tyiirri speak*, *tyirri prickle*; *pirrii match*, *pirrii afternoon*; *thuurru* - the objective case of *thuurr big and slow*, *thuuru* - the respect form of *parrimirnti sea serpent*; *tyurtuu dust*, *tyurtu native flower*.

1. The long vowel oo cannot be pronounced with medial breaking, that is, as a sequence of two identical short vowels, and in fact there is no short o in the Yindjibarndi language.
11. Long vowels are discriminated from sequences of two short vowels in one part of the grammar. That is, the objective case of *thaa mouth* and *mii limb* is *thaa* and *mii*, respectively, while the objective case of *tyia chair* is *tyiai*.<sup>1</sup> In other words monosyllabic common nouns, containing a long vowel, take the objective case marker for trisyllabic common nouns, while disyllabic common nouns, containing a sequence of two dissimilar short vowels, take the objective case marker for ordinary disyllabic common nouns.

Therefore, we conclude that long vowels are not functionally equivalent to sequences of two identical short vowels, even though they may be derived from them, either historically or synchronically.

#### 2.1.3.3. Vowel Colouring

The short vowel *a*, when it precedes a palatal consonant, frequently picks up 'i'-colouring. For example, in the word *manyka son*, *a* often sounds like 'ai' in Australian English.<sup>2</sup> Note also the borrowing *watypala white fellow*, where English 't' has been realised in Yindjibarndi as *ty*, because the preceding vowel in English is pronounced with a 'y' off-glide. When *a* occurs before the single consonant *y* in intervocalic position, it very obviously sounds like a diphthong, because *y* is pronounced as if it were geminate in this position, with syllable division separating the two parts.

Short vowels, primarily *a* and *u*, can become nasalised, when they appear immediately before a nasal. The effect is most apparent before *ng*. For example, in the word *mangumangu a kind of spear*, nasalisation can be heard very clearly on both *a*'s.

<sup>1</sup>The reader may be further interested to know that when *thara* - evidently a borrowing - is used in place of *thaa mouth*, the objective form is *tharai* as expected.

<sup>2</sup>This is also evidently true of *Ngarluma* and *Kariera* as Radcliffe-Brown (1913:149, 172) spells the first *a* in *manyka son* as 'ai'.

Short vowels, preceding retroflex consonants, can have their vowel formants deformed by the adjacent retroflex environment. But this does not always happen, because retroflex consonants in Yindjibarndi are generally pronounced with a minimum of retroflexion, especially by mature speakers. However, when it does occur, the vowel *i* appears to be relatively immune to distortion.

Long vowels in general seem to follow the pattern for short vowels except that the effects of the distorting environments, specifically nasalisation and retroflexion, are not as pervasive.

#### 2.1.3.4. Distribution of Vowels

All vowels except *oo* occur word finally and medially between consonants. *oo* can only occur in medial position in the environment of a labial consonant (see 2.2.14.). Also, *u* and *uu* cannot occur before *y* (see 2.2.9).

Vowels do not normally occur in word initial position. If one thinks he is hearing *u* or *i* in initial position, he is really hearing *wu* or *yi*, respectively.<sup>1</sup> There are a few borrowed words in which *a* occurs in word initial position, e.g. *alarti holiday*. No long vowels occur in word initial position except in the borrowed word *uu or*.

#### 2.1.3.5. Vowel Clusters

The following clusters of two vowels occur in Yindjibarndi: *ai*,<sup>2</sup> *au*,<sup>3</sup> *ia*, *iu*, *ua*, *ui*. Four of these almost certainly occur intramorphemically; e.g. *mau- cut* (cf. *maurnrtu punishment spear*,

<sup>1</sup> Dropping of *w* and *y* in initial position before *u* and *i*, respectively, is a function of individual speech. For example, Long Mack always pronounces *w* and *y* clearly in initial position. Gilbert Bobby, on the other hand, drops *y* before the tense allophone of *l* and on occasion *w* before the tense allophone of *u*. I have heard other speakers fail to pronounce initial *y* and *w* before the respective lax allophones of *i* and *u* as well.

<sup>2</sup> It is very easy to hear the difference between *ai* and *ayi*. The latter sounds like *ay + (y)i*, while *ai* sounds like *a + i*.

<sup>3</sup> It is very difficult to hear any difference between *au* and *awu*. After pestering Gilbert Bobby about this problem over a long period of time, he presented me with a definitive subminimal pair; i.e., *pauny wind grass / Wawuny Eric Diamond*. On another occasion long after, I again tested this contrast on Gilbert by querying him over the phone about the relative pronunciation of *ngau yes!* (*-u = Ny -ku*, see 3.2.1.1.1) and *ngawurr bubble* (cf. *Nm ngapurrr*). After listening to him pronounce these two words a number of times, I found that I could distinctly hear *w* in *ngawurr* two out of three times, but never could I hear it in *ngau*. Similarly, while Gilbert would accept without comment a pronunciation of *ngawurr* with *w* in it, he would not accept a similar pronunciation with *ngau*.

maurarra *second part of the initiation rite*), tyianti- (VR) *pour*, tyiurra *bony bream* and mui- *run* (cf. muirri- (VØ) *run away*, muili- (VN) *run down*). It is possible that ai and ua may also occur intramorphemically, but I cannot find any sure examples. For example, based on Ngarluma mayili *father's father* one would perhaps expect Yindjibarndi \*maili. But instead we find that the predicted ai has coalesced into a long vowel (see 2.2.13). That is, we actually observe maali. Intermorphemically, we can find a number of examples, e.g. kartairri *rock outcropping*, kurnmairti *good hunter*, karlairtu *black swan*, etc. ua seems to occur only when the genitive case marker -arnrtu is attached to a noun ending in u and usually not even then (see 3.1.1.2.2.1).

Sequences of three different short vowels can also occur. For example, iau occurs in locative forms of disyllabic nouns incorporating nasal plus stop clusters (see 2.2.12), when these nouns appear in certain types of clauses (see, for example, 4.2.4.2.3). Specific examples include yantiau (Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 4) and kanyiau (Text 62, paragraph 1, sentence 2).

Finally, it is possible to observe sequences consisting of a long vowel plus a non-corresponding short vowel as in pirriiu,<sup>1</sup> the objective case of pirrii *match*, and of short vowel plus a non-corresponding long vowel as in nyintauu,<sup>2</sup> the plural of nyinta *you*. Also, a sequence of two different long vowels can be observed, e.g. pirriiaa *like a match*.

The following types of vowel clusters do not occur: two identical short vowels,<sup>3</sup> two identical long vowels,<sup>4</sup> short vowel plus corresponding long vowel, long vowel plus corresponding short vowel.

## 2.2. Phonological Processes

### 2.2.1. Silent 'u'

When u occurs in word final position after a peripheral nasal, that is, either m or ng, it may be optionally dropped. This dropping would probably not occur in any one speaker's idiolect with a frequency

<sup>1</sup>Also thaau, the objective case of thaa *mouth*, pilarnrtu, the genitive case of pii *flat* and purruarnrtu, the genitive case of purruu *hair belt*.

<sup>2</sup>Also ngaliuu *you and we* (cf. ngali *you and I*), nganiaa *like what* (cf. ngani *what*) and muili- (VN) *run down*.

<sup>3</sup>This is by definition a long vowel. See 2.1.3.2.

<sup>4</sup>See 2.2.13 in relation to this and the following items.

of more than ten percent. Thus, *palamu long ago* is from time to time pronounced 'palam' and *marnrtanyungu euro*, 'marnrtanyung'.<sup>1</sup>

On one occasion Long Mack pronounced *Loopu Friday* as if it were spelled 'Loop' with the p devoiced. This deletion probably did not occur in precontact times, but with the advent of English speech and the borrowing of such words like 'mob', giving Yindjibarndi *maap*, oblique stem *maapu*-,<sup>2</sup> this rule has apparently widened its scope. On another occasion Ken M. Jerrold pronounced the verb *ngarriwartaarnu baking* without the final u. However, it seemed clear from the social context that he was going to some lengths to show me a tricky piece of language.

### 2.2.2. Silent 'i'

When i occurs in word final position, following ay, it appears to be deleted. Thus *ngayi I* usually sounds like 'ngay', and *ngamayi tobacco* like 'ngamay'.<sup>3</sup> However, the i becomes properly audible, when suffixes are attached, although even then it may still be

<sup>1</sup>This rule is apparently not restricted to Yindjibarndi but operates in other Ngayardic languages as well. For example, Radcliffe-Brown (1913:147) lists the term Purungu *Perentie section* as 'Burung' in Kariera.

<sup>2</sup>That is, that oblique stem has been back-formed in treating the nominative case as if it had been produced by the application of this rule. Note, however, that English 'pub' has not been assimilated into Yindjibarndi and hence is not treated the same way in the grammar. The declensional paradigm for 'pub' is as follows:

NOMINATIVE	'pub'
LOCATIVE	'pub'la
ABLATIVE	'pub'langu
INSTRUMENTAL	'pub'lu
OBJECTIVE	'pub'u
DIRECT ALLATIVE	'pub'warta
INDIRECT ALLATIVE	'pub'wurraa
COMITATIVE	'pub'wari
GENITIVE	'pub'arnrtu

Its dual and plural are 'pub'uyha and 'pub'ngarli, respectively. A consideration of the information just given and of the treatment of English words in the Texts will lead the reader to conclude that unassimilated English words often do not follow the rules which guide Yindjibarndi words.

<sup>3</sup>But when I ask Gilbert Bobby to articulate these two words, the final i is clear. Therefore, there must remain some doubt as to whether i is really deleted or whether it is just difficult to hear. But see also the preceding section.

difficult to hear, when the suffix begins with a vowel,<sup>1</sup> e.g. *ngamayiarlaa possessing tobacco*. Also, the *i* in *payipa* tends to be 'swallowed',<sup>2</sup> but this may be due to the continuing phonetic presence of English 'pipe'. However, the *i* is definitely there, because *payipa* counts as a trisyllabic word, when locative and objective case markers are added.

### 2.2.3. Geminate Consonant Cluster Simplification

When two identical consonants are adjacent, they are automatically simplified to a single one. That is, ...

$$C_1C_2 \rightarrow C_1, \text{ where } C_1 = C_2$$

Consider the following examples:

<i>kangkaty loose</i>	+ -tyarri-	(VØ)	→	<i>kangkatyarri-</i>	(VØ)	<i>come loose</i>
<i>ngarurr clawing</i>	+ -rra-	(VR)	→	<i>ngarurra-</i>	(VR)	<i>claw</i>
<i>warrkam work</i>	+ -ma-	(VL)	→	<i>warrkama-</i>	(VL)	<i>work (on)</i>

Note that the last derivation obtains even though there exists an oblique stem *warrkamu-* for *warrkam*. And see the Dictionary under 'muwarrangu' for a derivation similar to that involving *ngarurr*.

### 2.2.4. 'l' Assimilation

When alveolar *l* is placed in a position immediately following any nasal or stop which may occur in word final position without the benefit of 'silent u' (see 2.2.1), then it becomes a stop at the same point of articulation as the consonant it immediately follows. The formula is:

$$l \rightarrow t; rt; ty \quad / \quad n, t; rn, rt; ny, ty + \_$$

This rule is relevant to the locative and instrumental case markers, -*la* and -*lu*, respectively. Note the following examples:

<i>maykan</i>	<i>my gum tree</i>	+ -la	→	<i>maykanta</i>
<i>Pityin</i>	<i>Ken M. Jerrold</i>	+ -lu	→	<i>Pityintu</i>
<i>yurrurn</i>	<i>hair</i>	+ -la	→	<i>yurrurnrta</i>
<i>Yurtarriny</i>	<i>Gilbert Bobby</i>	+ -lu	→	<i>Yurtarrinytyu</i>

<sup>1</sup>And, indeed, it is not even always easy to distinguish the stem of *tyiantiku pours* from *tyanti coughs*. Note also that some speakers use 'ngamayu' rather than *ngamayiu* as the objective case of *ngamayi* (NC) *tobacco*. This substitution may have nothing to do with the dropping of *i*, since others use 'mayu' in place of *mayingu*, the objective case of *mayi* (NP) *younger sister* (see 3.1.1.2.2.1).

<sup>2</sup>And in *mayit might* as well. I should add that *i* is so inaudible in these two words that I doubt I would have ever realised that it was there, if it weren't for the fact that I had the use of Hale's (1959a) hand-written field notes.



And note how the geminate consonant cluster simplification rule (see directly above) works in sequence with this rule:

kurnrtat *daughter* + -la → \*kurnrtatta  
→ kurnrtata  
{thurrurt wartirra *prescribed woman*} + -la → \*thurrurtrta wartirralla  
→ thurrurta wartirralla  
kangkaty *loose* + -la → \*kangkatytya  
→ kangkatya

When alveolar l is placed in a position immediately following rr,  
it assimilates to rr...

$$1 \rightarrow rr / rr +$$

the resulting geminate consonant cluster again being simplified according to rule. Note the following examples:

martarr *red ochre* + -la → \*martarrrrra  
→ martarra  
martarr *red ochre* + -lu → \*martarrrrru  
→ martarru

### 2.2.5. Fortition<sup>1</sup>

Fortition of glides is not a significant phonological process in the Yindjibarndi language. Strengthening of w after a nasal is observed in reduplicated compounds like waunpaun *mopoke* and warrurnparrurn *blow fly*. It is not clear whether fortition or lenition is illustrated by the term tyurlawirtinypirtiny *Sturt's desert pea*.<sup>2</sup> In any case such fortitions can probably be considered to reflect historical mechanisms.<sup>3</sup>

The suggestion that strengthening of glides is not an on-going process in present-day Yindjibarndi can be defended by observations that endings which begin with a glide, such as the vocative suffix *-yi*, cannot be attached to words ending in a nasal or stop.<sup>4</sup> Thus, with personal names like Pityin *Ken M. Jerrold*, vocative content is carried

<sup>1</sup>I will not consider anything but glides in this section. For a discussion on the fortition of *l* in certain contexts, see the immediately preceding section.

<sup>2</sup>However, see the reasonable etymology given in the Dictionary.

<sup>3</sup>Fortition was definitely an important process historically in the Yindjibarndi language. See O'Grady 1966:87-89.

<sup>4</sup>It is not clear whether the vocative clitic can occur after rr. I have never heard it used in this environment. However, the sequence rryi does occur in the word yirryiwartu *native cat*.

solely by volume and intonation pattern. Furthermore, I have never heard anyone use the determiner clitic -yhu with a noun ending in a nasal or stop - except Gilbert Bobby.<sup>1</sup> Even so, Gilbert does not strengthen yh to th in these circumstances.<sup>2</sup>

It may also be worth mentioning here - purely for historical interest - that Yindjibarndi has *restructured*<sup>3</sup> those suffixes and clitics that began with \*w in Proto-Ngayardic. So, for example, the comitative case marker, which appears in Ngarluma as -wari, emerges in Yindjibarndi as -pari and then simply follows the normal rules for lenition (see 2.2.10), when it is used to inflect nouns.

kurtan	sack, bag	+ -pari	→ kurtanpari
warnrta	stick	+ -pari	→ warnrtawari
tyuntaa	way	+ -pari	→ tyuntaapari

However, interestingly enough, the comitative case marker appears differently, when it descends from Proto-Ngayardic as a derivational suffix already attached to a noun. See section 3.2.1.1.2 under -payi.

#### 2.2.6. 'u' Assimilation

u<sup>4</sup> may optionally become i when it precedes i in an immediately following syllable...

u → i / \_\_C<sup>5</sup>i

as illustrated by the following doublets:

tyarrwurti,	tyarrwirti	three
pirtuwirtaa,	pirtiwirtaa	scout
martumirri,	martimirri	dampener

<sup>1</sup>Gilbert also claims that it is possible to lenite the morpheme separator -th- after a nasal, deriving such constructions as 'kurrarnkurrarnyharnrtu' (see footnote to Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 2), which I cannot accept.

<sup>2</sup>Despite the fact that -yhu must have descended from Proto-Ngayardic -\*thu (cf. Ngarluma -tha).

<sup>3</sup>I avoid saying that \*w was strengthened to p in these circumstances.

<sup>4</sup>On rare occasions a appears to be affected as well. For example, wirtirri- (VØ) *climb* must come from wirta (NC) *leg* plus -rri- (VØ) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER. In this regard note Marduthunira wirta- (VØ) *climb*. Compare also palyirri *euro section*, pattyarri *euro*, both from \*paltyarri (\*lty goes to ly, tty, respectively). Examples from Ngarluma are undebatable. Consider, for example, the following cognate chain: Ngarluma marrirli, Yindjibarndi marrarli, Pandjima marra *wing*. Also, compare Ngarluma tyurtirirri with Yindjibarndi tyurtairri *red-backed kingfisher*. The proto-Ngayardic form is \*tyurtarirri.

<sup>5</sup>I cannot demonstrate 'u assimilation' across a consonant cluster.

Even though the assimilation process probably crosses a morpheme boundary in all three of the examples given above (cf. Tharkari tyarrku *three* and Ngarluma pirtupirtura *scout*), this rule is probably a phonological one as can be seen by comparing Yindjibarndi wirtiwirtaa- (VL) *hang* (note wirtiwirti *hanging*, wirti *bell*) with Tharkari wurtiya- (V) *hang*.

Furthermore, it should be understood that this rule is not recursive; that is, an assimilated u cannot in turn cause a preceding u to assimilate:<sup>1</sup>

murru *back* + -tyi → murrityi *emu tail*  
 murru *back* + -rni → murrirni *behind*

And finally, it should be emphasised that this rule is NOT obligatory. There are plenty of examples, such as kurri *girl*, martuii *centre* and warrkamurri- *be working*, in which the assimilation of u is not observed at all.<sup>2</sup>

#### 2.2.7. Fronting of 'u'

Infrequently, u becomes fronted to i before a palatal consonant. In this respect consider the following derivations:

piyulu *yellow* + -ny + -karra → piyulinykarra *painted yellow*  
 tyarpu- *bird* + -ny + -tya- + -rr → tyarpinytyarr *pratincole*  
 purlu- *front* + -ny + -tyi + -rr + -marra → Purlinytyirrmarra<sup>3</sup>

The word pairs illustrated below suggest a fronting of u before -ty as well as -ny:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In this regard compare also Yindjibarndi tyumpirirri with Ngarluma tyumpurirri *knife*. This constraint is not evident in Ngarluma. For example, wilityirni *from the south* derives from wulutyu *in the south* plus -rni.

<sup>2</sup>And note the Yindjibarndi form karlutyuu *dove* in which original i preceding u has assimilated to u (cf. Ngarluma karlikuru). Consider also Yindjibarndi yirrauyu *thunderstorm* in which the reverse appears to have occurred, namely that the following i has assimilated to the preceding u (cf. Ngarluma yirrakutyi)! However, something else must be going on here. Compare Ngarluma pukaty, Yindjibarndi puwayu *club-rush*.

<sup>3</sup>This is a proper name. See the Dictionary.

<sup>4</sup>In regard to the fronting of u before ny consider also Yindjibarndi yungku- (VØ) *give* from Proto-Ngayardic \*yungku *gives* and Pandjima, Pailgu yinya- (Ø) *give* from \*yunya *gave*. Also compare Ngarluma pinytya- (VL) *drink* with Nyamal punytya- (VL) *drink* and Yindjibarndi punytyat *dew*.

Yindjibarndi kupitya,<sup>1</sup> Marduthunira kuputya *small*  
 Yindjibarndi mitya- (VL),<sup>2</sup> Ngarla mutya- (VL) *drink*

In a somewhat similar fashion, a may become fronted to i after palatal consonant clusters, when it occurs in final<sup>3</sup> position:

punytyi *native yellow perch*, punytyat *dew*  
 tyinytyi *wage payment*, tyinytyanungu *worker*  
 kanyti<sup>4</sup> *edge*, kanytyaurla *on one's side*  
 kaarrwanytyi-<sup>5</sup> (VØ) *slip*, Nm kararrwanytyarri- (VØ)<sup>6</sup>

See also O'Grady 1979:117-18.

#### 2.2.8. Lowering of 'u'

u lowers to a relatively frequently before a retroflex consonant, that is...

u → a / rn, rt\_\_

as shown by the following evidence.<sup>7</sup>

This rule always applies when the factitive verbaliser -rni- (VØ) is combined with foreign nouns to derive verb stems. Consider the following examples:

warrkamarni- (VØ) *work on* + warrkam- (the oblique stem of warrkam (NC) *work*) + -rni-  
 payilamarni- (VØ) *boil* + payilamu- (the oblique stem of payilam (NC) *boil*) + -rni-

It also usually works in conjunction with the ablative locative suffix, which is -rni. Note the following derivation:

<sup>1</sup>Yindjibarndi kupitya is not cognate with Ngarluma kupilla *dew(drop)*. This is certain, because the plural form is kupiyarri. ty from Proto-Ngayardic \*ll never lenites (see 2.2.10). Note also Pandjima kupinya *small*.

<sup>2</sup>But note also Ngarluma milla- (VL) *lick*.

<sup>3</sup>But note Yindjibarndi warrinyin, Ngarluma warrinyan *painted finch*.

<sup>4</sup>The original cluster nyty has been changed to nty in order that this term can be discriminated from the otherwise homophonous kanytyi *ranji bush*. nty also occurs in a derivative term kanytyirr *sneeze*.

<sup>5</sup>The final vowel in this verb stem becomes word final in the present tense. See also preceding footnote plus one.

<sup>6</sup>Kararr means *tight* in Ngarluma. Compare wanytyarri- with Yindjibarndi wantyarri- (VØ) *come off* and Ngarluma wanytyipi- with Yindjibarndi wantyawi- (VN) *take off*. Note also Yindjibarndi wanytya *dog* and see preceding footnote plus one.

<sup>7</sup>Consider also the following cognate chain: Yindjibarndi karrwarn *summer*, Kurrama karrwu *sun*, Nyamal karrpu *summer*.

wularni *from the west* + wulu- *west* + -rni

Also compare yawurrarni *from downstream* with Ngarluma yapurru *in the west* and wartantarni *from the north* with Marduthunira wartantu *in the east*. However, in the derivation of murrirni *behind* (cf. murru *back*), the operation of this rule is inhibited by the prior application of the rule for 'u assimilation' (see the preceding section plus one). And then again in tyuntarni *around this way* neither rule gets applied!

Note the following cognate pair, which indicates the lowering of u to a before rt in Yindjibarndi: thuwarta, Ngarluma thukurta *a sweet, fruit*.

### 2.2.9. 'y' Elision

y falls when it directly follows any high vowel, that is, either i or u, providing it also immediately precedes i...

$y \rightarrow \emptyset / V\_i$ , where  $V = i, u$

This happens, for example, when the objective case marker -yi is attached to disyllabic nouns ending in i and also when the potential mood marker -yi is added to  $\emptyset$ -stem verbs ending in i. Thus the objective case of parri *devil* is parrii, and the potential mood of ngarri- (V $\emptyset$ ) *lie* is ngarrii.

When the vocative suffix -yi is appended to names ending in i or u and when the causative verbaliser -yirraa- (VR) is added to  $\emptyset$ -stem verbs in i or u, the same deletion occurs. Thus the vocative form of Nyillku *Paddy William*<sup>1</sup> is Nyillkui!, while the causative form of ngarrku- (V $\emptyset$ ) *eat* is ngarrkuirraa- (VR) *make someone eat*.

### 2.2.10. Lenition<sup>2</sup>

Considering lenition in its widest context, it can be said that all Yindjibarndi stops and glides (except rr<sup>3</sup> and apparently w and yh) are potentially lenitable, when they occur between vowels or between rr<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A Pandjima friend of Gilbert Bobby's, living in Onslow.

<sup>2</sup>O'Grady (1966:86-91) has a lot of interesting things to say on this topic from a historical perspective. I also found his discussion to be a good source for examples.

<sup>3</sup>rr definitely does not lenite anywhere in Yindjibarndi. However, O'Grady (1966:89) suggests with good reason that it may in Pandjima and Pailgu.

<sup>4</sup>But lenition after any other consonant is impossible.

and a vowel.<sup>1</sup> I say potentially, because the rules governing lenition (taken in this context) are not mandatory but only optional. This truism can be perceived by comparing the two forms *tyityarilirri pearl shell pendant* and *tyiyartarri- (VØ) get bright*, where the root *tyitya-bright, shiny* has its second *ty* lenited in the second term but not in the first, even though the two environments are for all practical purposes identical.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, such lenitions may even be reduplicated; that is, the same phonological segment may be lenited twice. For example, *karta- bottom* plus *-tyirri stick out* gives *kartairri rock outcropping*. That is, *ty* is first lenited to *y* and then further to *Ø*.

Now let us consider the range of possibilities:

*p* → *w*

Example: *parpa-* + reduplicative -*parpa* → *parpawarpa thumpity-thump*

*k* → *w* / *u* <sup>3</sup>

→ *Ø* elsewhere<sup>4</sup>

Example: *partu feather* + *-karlaa having* → *partuwarlaa bird*  
*marnrta money* + *-karlaa having* → *marnrtaarlaa rich*  
*warnrti penis* + *-karlaa having* → *warnrtiarlaa male*  
*ngawurr bubble* + *-karlaa having* → *ngawurrarlaa beer*

*th* → *yh*

Example: *tharru-* + reduplicative -*tharru* → *tharruyharu obscured*

<sup>1</sup>There is some evidence to suggest that lenition in word initial position is also possible: Compare *yarnkarra brolga* with *tyarnkarra ruffled feather* (see also *yiwa* in the Dictionary), *warnrti penis* with *karnrti tail*, and *wala that (mid-distant)* with *Nyangumarda pala*.

<sup>2</sup>It is not always the case that the non-lenition of a stop cannot be attributed to anything save the apparent perverseness of the language. For example, it is an observable fact that *ty* which is the reflex of Proto-Ngayardic \**ll* will not lenite no matter how encouraging the environment in which it occurs may be. Compare the two words *thamii maternal grandfather* and *murrityi tail of an emu*. In the first one, an original *ty* has lenited to *y* and then been deleted by the rule for 'y Elision' (see 2.2.9) as can be surmised by examining its Nyangumarda cognate *jamuji*. However, in *murrityi* the *ty* has not lenited even though it falls in exactly the same environment, because this *ty* is the result of a fortition of Proto-Ngayardic \**ll* (cf. *Ngarluma murrilli*). On the change of *u* to *i*, see 2.2.6.

<sup>3</sup>Note also the following three examples, which are, however, only relevant in a historical context: *warrwu*, *Ngarluma warrku adolescent kangaroo*; *Yindjibarndi tyarrwurti* (varying with *tyarrwirti*), *Thargari tyarrku three*; and *Yindjibarndi thurrwiny*, *Ngarluma thurrkuny white gooseberry shrub*. But consider also *Yindjibarndi thurrurt*, *Ngarluma thurrkurl true*.

<sup>4</sup>Remember that our universe is restricted to those environments described in the first sentence in this section.

ty → y ( → Ø)

Example: See introductory discussion to this section.

rt automatically lenites to a reverse flap everywhere in medial position between vowels, the resulting flap constituting an allophone of rt (see 2.1.2.1. and 2.1.2.2).

t in intervocalic position has already lenited to and merged with rr nearly everywhere in Yindjibarndi.<sup>1</sup> There are very few examples of t in this position: kitakita *tap-tap*, kuta (NC) *short*, kutapa (NP) *short*, mata *climbing sweet potato*, pitinyarra *kind of lerp* and tyuti *native canary*. The fact that this lenition has taken place is recoverable from the doublet ngunhaatumpa, ngunhaarrumpa *that's the one I'm talking about*. The same observation can be made by examining the following items of data: ngarra *scene, view*, pangkarri- (VØ) ngarraurlu *go for good (ngarraurlu back view)*, ngunhaangata *that position*.

w → Ø

Example: The only apparent examples occur where a putative \*w

descends from Proto-Ngayardic \*p:

wirra *boomerang*, Ngarluma wirrpa<sup>2</sup>

wanyaarri- (VØ) *hear*, cf. Ngarluma wanyaparri-<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Compare, for example, kurrurta *dead still*, Kurrama kurru *dead*, Pandjima kutu.

<sup>2</sup>It is difficult to explain why the Yindjibarndi word for *boomerang* is not \*wirrwa, particularly when we have Yindjibarndi warrwa *far*, Ngarluma warrpa. However, it is possible that pre-Yindjibarndi \*wirrpa somehow got crossed with another synonymous form \*warrkunti. Compare Pandjima warrkunti, Kurrama waruwinti *boomerang* (von Brandenstein 1975:136). But then we still have to explain the loss of \*w in Yindjibarndi wuthurrunga- (VL) *squirt* (cf. Ngarluma wullurrpuyungka-).

<sup>3</sup>I am suspicious of this example, because wanyaarri- has no related forms in Yindjibarndi. Thus, the proto-form suggested by Ngarluma wanyaparri- could very well have been spuriously changed to \*wanyakarri- as if it were to be analysed as \*wanya- + \*karri-. Here compare payaarri- (VØ) *get wild* from \*patya + \*karri- and note Walmatyari pinakarri- *hear*, pina *ear*. We do know that such spurious changes of p have indeed occurred in Yindjibarndi. Compare, for example, kurlu *small of back* with Ngarluma purlu, and -kula *both* with Ngarluma -pula. The other example given by O'Grady (1966:101) is an unfortunate slip. The putative form thaathamarnrta *greedy* has little to do with Pandjima thapatha *vegetable*. It is a mishearing of thathamarnrta from \*thathamarta (see 2.2.15), which responds to Ngarluma thalhanharri (see Hale 1960:350), where -nharri is the normal agentive suffix for Ø-stem verbs.

yh → ∅

Example: wayharri- (V∅) *look for* → waarri-<sup>1</sup>

y → ∅

Example: cf. kaarrka *redwood*, kayawayi *orange caper*  
cf. yaala *now*, yiyangu *new*

r → y / a\_\_i  
→ ∅ elsewhere

Example: markurra *good* + -ri- (V∅) → markurrari- (V∅) *come good*  
→ markurrayi-<sup>2</sup>  
cf. warruurka, warrururka *black monitor*

However, if one wants to be practical and ignore the vagaries of lenition as it exists in the derivation of words, then one only needs to remember four simple rules:

p → w / V, rr + \_\_V<sup>3</sup>  
k → w / u + \_\_V<sup>4</sup>  
→ ∅ / V<sub>1</sub>, rr + \_\_V, where V<sub>1</sub> ≠ u  
th → yh / V + \_\_V  
ty → y / V + \_\_V

The first practical rule operates on the indirect allative case marker -purraa,<sup>5</sup> for example:

maya *house* + -purraa → mayawurraa

The second practical rule operates on the direct allative case marker -karta, for example:

wuntu *river* + -karta → wuntuwarta  
maya *house* + -karta → mayaarta  
wangkarr *throat* + -karta → wangkarrarta

<sup>1</sup>This example is practically without substance, because waari- can be straightforwardly derived from waa- *go* + -rri- (V∅). See the Dictionary. I am unable to corroborate O'Grady's (1966:116) other example, where yh in Yindjibarndi thuyhu- (VL) *push* from Proto-Ngayardic \*thuthu- undergoes a second lenition to ∅. But see the Dictionary under 'thuu- (VL)'.

<sup>2</sup>Cheedy Ned is the only Yindjibarndi that I have heard use this form.

<sup>3</sup>When \*w is produced in the environment u\_\_u, it is immediately elided (see 2.2.11).

<sup>4</sup>I have not actually observed the lenition of k in the environment u\_\_i. See also the immediately preceding footnote.

<sup>5</sup>And also very importantly upon the emphatic clitic -pa and the intensifier -parlu to form their respective lenition variants -wa and -warlu.



And also on the objective case marker *-ku*, for example:

warrapa *grass* + *-ku* → warrapau  
 pirrii *match* + *-ku* → pirriiu  
 martarr *red ochre* + *-ku* → martarru

The third practical rule is relevant to the morpheme separator *-th-*, when it occurs with the genitive case marker *-arnrtu*,<sup>1</sup> for example:

murru *back* + *-th-* + *-arnrtu* → murruyharntu

And the fourth and final practical rule is relevant to the variant of the morpheme separator *-th-*, which is *-ty-*, for example:

kurri *girl* + *-ty-* + *-arnrtu* → kurriyarntu

At the beginning of this discussion, we made the point that lenition is always optional. However, since we have simplified the problem of lenition to one of describing its operation synchronically within the domain of syntax, we can now say that lenition must take place unless it is obstructed for some particular reason. What then are the reasons for lenition not taking place?

Some reasons are phonological. For example, it is clear that stops which are the product of Proto-Ngayardic \*l + stop never lenite. Thus the present tense marker for L-stem verbs is always *-ku* with no lenition variants, because it descends from *-\*l + -\*ku*.<sup>2</sup> In Ngarluma the present tense marker for this stem class is still *-lku*. Note also what happens to the directional allative case marker *-kurru* in compass point directions:

wuluyu *in the west* < *\*wulu- + -\*tyu*  
 wuluyuurru *westwards* < *\*wulu- + -\*tyu + -\*kurru*

whereas

wartat *in the north* < *\*warta- + -\*l*  
 wartakurru *northwards* < *\*warta- + -\*l + -\*kurru*<sup>3</sup>

The kinship dual kurnrtakarra *mother's brother and sister's son* has developed in a manner similar to wartakurru. See the Dictionary.

<sup>1</sup>*-th-* is actually quite rare in syntactic contexts. However, see 3.1.1.2.2.1. and 3.2.1.1.1.

<sup>2</sup>See O'Grady (1966:88) on this point. The optative mood marker for L-stem verbs, i.e. *-tyaa*, has developed similarly (see 3.1.4.2.1).

<sup>3</sup>Compare the fate of \*l in this derivation with that of \*l in the derivation of wuyurrkaa *easy* from *\*wu(t)yul* (cf. wuyut *nothing*) plus *-\*kura*. Consider also the etymology of the term maarrika *preying mantis* given in the Dictionary.

Grammar is another reason for lenition being blocked. Let us take, for example, two similarly derived nouns, *kuyaa that side* and *tyuntaa that way*. The first is derived from *kuyu side* plus the suffix *-ra*, the second from *tyuntu way* plus the same suffix. However, while the objective case of *kuyaa* is *kuyaau*, the same case for *tyuntaa* is *tyuntaaku*. The reason for the difference is that *kuyaa* remains a common noun like *kuyu*, but *tyuntaa* has been reclassified as a retroflex noun. This can be seen clearly by comparing their respective locative cases, namely *kuyaala* vs. *tyuntaarta*. This retroflex grammatical environment is consistent in that it blocks lenition in other cases, e.g. *tyuntaakarta* (direct allative), *tyuntaapurraa* (indirect allative), *tyuntaatharnrtu* (genitive) and it even prevents lenition of clitics, e.g. *tyuntaaparlu always*.

Finally, lexical environments can also block lenition. So, for example, the allative case of *murna close* is *murnakurru*. *-kurru* here is not derived from Proto-Ngayardic *-! + -\*kurru*, because the locative case of *murna* is *murnangka*, which is almost never used, the nominative being substituted in its place. The same blocking of *k* can be observed in the compound *murnakuyu this side*.<sup>1</sup> However, the emphatic form of *murna* is *murnawa*, showing that lenition of *p* is not blocked!<sup>2</sup>

#### 2.2.11. 'w' Elision

*w* falls when it occurs between two *u*'s, that is,

$$w \rightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad u \_ u$$

Thus,

$$\begin{aligned} \text{warru night} + \text{-ku} &\rightarrow *warruwu \\ &\rightarrow \text{waruu} \end{aligned}$$

as in *waruu yini until night*. *-ku* is, of course, the objective case marker. Note also

$$\begin{aligned} \text{warru night} + \text{-purraa} &\rightarrow *warruwurraa \\ &\rightarrow \text{warruurraa twilight} \end{aligned}$$

where *-purraa* is the indirect allative case marker employed as a derivational suffix.

<sup>1</sup>Compare *ngunthuyu that side* from *ngunthi way over there* plus *kuyu side*.

<sup>2</sup>The term *tyina foot* may provide an even stronger lenition-blocking environment than *murna*. See the several relevant entries immediately following *tyina* in the Dictionary.

### 2.2.12. Peripheral Nasal Plus Stop Cluster Dissimilation<sup>1</sup>

When a cluster, consisting of peripheral nasal plus stop, is placed in a position immediately following a short vowel (or short vowel plus consonant) which is itself immediately preceded by any nasal plus stop cluster, then the peripheral nasal in the appended nasal plus stop cluster is automatically deleted. That is,

mp; ngk → p; k / NSV(C) + \_\_, where N = any nasal  
 S = any stop  
 V = any vowel  
 C = any consonant

Such dissimilations are perhaps most noticeable in connection with the inflection for locative and instrumental case of disyllabic common nouns ending in a vowel. In this situation the locative case marker -ngka is first simplified to -\*ka<sup>2</sup> and then further lenited to -a or -wa, depending upon the quality of the final vowel in the noun being inflected, while the instrumental case marker -ngku is simplified to -\*ku and then just reduced to -u. For example:

wuntu	river	+ -ngka → *wuntuka
		→ wuntuwa
		-ngku → *wuntuku
		→ *wuntuwu
		→ wuntuu
warnta	stick	+ -ngka → *warntaka
		→ warnrntaa
		-ngku → *warnrntaku
		→ warnrntau
manytyi	death adder	+ -ngka → *manytyika
		→ manytyia
		-ngku → *manytyiku
		→ manytyiu

Simplification of mp proceeds similarly except that the resulting p does not lenite. Such dissimilations can be perceived by comparing

<sup>1</sup>There are a few pieces of evidence to suggest that another kind of dissimilation process involving retroflexion is also extant in Yindjibarndi. See kakurla, kukura and wakarlu in the Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup>As suggested by the Ngarluma evidence (see O'Grady 1966:75).

the objective cases of certain pronouns which have a plural in -mpurru. For example:

ngaliya + -mpurru + -ngu → ngaliyampurrungu

while

nyinku + -mpurru + -ngu → nyinkupurrungu

The reader is advised to consult the Dictionary for further information about these formations.

In the following derivation, 'u assimilation' occurs together with the dissimilation of m:

kantu- low + -mpi → kantipi tiny<sup>1</sup>

Simplification of peripheral nasal plus stop clusters also occurs in clitics. The following illustrations involve the topic clitic -mpa:

munti really + -mpa → muntipa

Note that dissimilation will proceed even when the leading term ends in a consonant, for example:

thangkarr enough + -mpa → thangkarrpa

The reader should understand that this is not simply a reduction of an impossible triconsonantal cluster to a disyllabic one: the topic clitic will just not fit on words ending in a consonant with no immediately preceding nasal plus stop cluster.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand dissimilation will not proceed if another syllable isolates the dissimilating environment:

wuntu river + -ngka + -mpa + -rtu → \*wuntukampartu<sup>3</sup>  
→ wuntuwampartu

not even if the intervening syllable collapses, coalescing with the preceding vowel to form a single long vowel:

ngaarnrtu my + -ku + -mpa + -rtu → \*ngaarnrtuwumpartu  
→ ngaarnrtuumpartu

<sup>1</sup>I did not break down this derivation into two stages, because I am not sure about the relative ordering of the two phonological processes which are manifested. However, there is a possibility that vowel assimilation follows consonant cluster dissimilation, since none of the examples listed in 2.2.6 shows 'u assimilation' across a consonant cluster.

<sup>2</sup>Gilbert Bobby tells me that the only thing you can do in this case is to use the emphatic clitic in its place.

<sup>3</sup>Incidentally, this example demonstrates that the rule is applied from left to right.

In the two examples given above, *-rtu* is the contrast clitic and *-ku* is the objective case marker.

The rule for nasal plus stop cluster dissimilation definitely does not operate on non-peripheral nasal plus stop clusters:

kangkan *fork in* + *-la* → kangkanta *in the fork*  
 yirtiya *the road* → yirtiyala *in the road*

kangkan *fork* + *-karra* → kangkankarra *forked*

Nor can it be applied if the stipulated conditioning environment is replaced by a nasal plus nasal cluster. For example:

parnka *female bungarra* + *-ngka* → \*parnkaka  
 → parnkaa

but

parnnga *bark* + *-ngka* → parnngangka

Finally, we must mention Yantimpurrwa, the name of a local country to which Harold and Cheedy Ned belong. This term appears to be the only exception to the 'peripheral nasal plus stop cluster dissimilation' rule. Perhaps as a proper name it is exempt from the rules which govern the phonology (see section 2.1.2.4).

### 2.2.13. Coalescence, Levelling and Reduction of Vowels<sup>1</sup>

When two identical short vowels meet directly or after lenition (see 2.2.10) and/or elision of an intervening consonant (see 2.2.9 and 2.2.11), they unite to form a long vowel.<sup>2</sup> Thus,

a + a → aa

Example: ngaarta *man* + *-arnrtu* → ngaartaarnrtu *man's*  
 ngatya- *help* + *-karra* → ngatyaarra *helpful*

i + i → ii

Example: Tyirrti *Cheedy Ned* + *-yi* → Tyirtii *Cheedy!*

In the above example, *-yi* is the vocative suffix.

u + u → uu

Example: paru *spinifex* + *-(k)urru*<sup>3</sup> → paruurru *lots of spinifex*

<sup>1</sup>See also O'Grady 1966:92-93.

<sup>2</sup>There is no such thing as a sequence of two identical short vowels (see 2.1.3.5).

<sup>3</sup>This plural suffix takes the form *-kurru* in Ngarluma, so that the plural of 'spinifex' is parukurru there.

When two different short vowels meet under the circumstances stated above, they may remain or else they may be levelled. Thus,

a + i → ai  
→ aa

Example: karta *bottom* + -tyirri *sticking out* → \*kartayirri

→ kartairri *rock*  
*outcropping*

purta *lump* + -tyirri *sticking out* → purtatyirri *impassibly*  
*rough ground*

→ \*purtayirri  
→ \*purtairri  
→ Purtaarri *place where*  
*death began*

a + u → au<sup>1</sup>

Example: warnrta *tree* + -ku → warnrtau

ngarra *view* + kurlu *lower back* → ngarraurlu *back view*

In the first example, -ku is the objective case marker.

i + a → ia  
→ aa

Example: cf. Kanyia, Kanyira<sup>2</sup> *place where the purnrtut lies*

cf. yaala *now*, yiyangu *new*

i + u → iu  
→ uu

Example: ngunhthi *way over there* + kuyu *side* → ngunhthiuyu<sup>3</sup> *other side*

→ ngunhthuuyu

u + i → ui  
→ ii

Example: Nyillku *Paddy William* + -yi → Nyillkui *Paddy!*

cf. thamii *mother's father*, Nyangumarda tyamutyi<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>I cannot find any examples in which au is levelled, and evidently O'Grady (1966: 92) couldn't either.

<sup>2</sup>Long Mack is the only person I know who uses this form.

<sup>3</sup>As far as I can tell, only Ken M. Jerrold uses this form.

<sup>4</sup>The intermediate situation is illustrated in *papui woman's brother's child*, evidently from *papu father* plus -tyi. Of course, the derivation could just as well be explained in terms of 'u assimilation' (see 2.2.6). The term *mantiirti Tree-in-the-Moon* would be an excellent example to include here were it not a borrowing from Ngarluma. See the Dictionary.

$$u + a \rightarrow ua$$

→ aa

Example: Murtimaa *Frank Wordick* + -ngu + -arnrtu → Murtimaanguarnrtu<sup>1</sup>  
*Frank Wordick's*  
 → Murtimaangaarnrtu

purlu front + -ra → \*purlua  
→ purlaa in front

In the first example, -ngu is the objective case marker for proper nouns.

When a long vowel and a corresponding<sup>2</sup> short vowel meet, they unite and shorten to form a long vowel. For example:

wangarkaa *crow* + -arnrtu → wangarkaarnrtu *crow's*  
purruu *hair belt* + -ku → \*purruuwu  
→ \*purruuu  
→ purruu

In the last derivation, -ku is the objective case marker.

When a short vowel and a corresponding long vowel meet, they coalesce and are reduced to a single long vowel, for example:

murla *bird* + -kaa *like* → \*murlaaa  
→ murlaa

Finally, when two identical long vowels meet, they again result in a single long vowel, for example:

partuwarlaa *bird* + -kaa *like* → \*partuwarlaaaa  
→ partuwarlaa

#### 2.2.14. Source of 'oo'

When *uwa* occurs in word medial position<sup>3</sup> following *m*, it may optionally<sup>4</sup> coalesce to form *oo*, that is

uwa → oo / m

<sup>1</sup>This form is not common. The following one is the usual one.

<sup>2</sup>If the two original vowels are not of the same quality, then no reduction will obtain. This statement also holds true with respect to the rest of the reductions discussed in this section. See also 2.1.3.5.

<sup>3</sup>The rule will not apply, if *uwa* occurs in word final position. For example, there exists no form \**moo* to complement *muwa buried alive*.

<sup>4</sup>In Gilbert Bobby's idiolect this option does not exist. For him, oo only occurs in the word for *Friday*, that is, Loopu.

For example,

Wikamu-<sup>1</sup> *Wickham* + -karta → Wikamuwarta *to(wards) Wickham*  
 → Wikamoorta

This rule also operates intramorphemically, demonstrating that it is strictly phonological, not morphophonemic. For example, consider the following doublets, *muwarlingu*, *moorlingu* *silver-leaf wattle*, and compare *Ngarluma mukarli*.

In general, everywhere we find a word containing *oo*, we also find its near twin, having *uwa* in place of *oo*. *Loopu*, the word for *Friday*, forms the only exception to this rule: \**Luwapu* definitely does not exist. However, one may note that even in this word, *oo* still abuts on a labial consonant, suggesting that *oo* has only one source, namely *uwa*.

I have one example in my notes of *ee*, to wit *wanhthiweel how are you!*, where *ee* is a reduced form of *ayi* (cf. *wanhthiwayi*). This transformation of *ayi* to *ee* bears a remarkable resemblance to the production of *oo* from *uwa*, even to the presence of a similar labial environment. However, such a comparison may be misdirected, since a different - and simpler - explanation is possible: The problematic utterance was spoken by a well educated young woman. Therefore, one might guess that she was taught to correct her country English pronunciation of 'ay' to that of cultivated English and that she then generalised this correction to *Yindjibarndi* (see also 2.2.2).

#### 2.2.15. Consonant Variation

There exist a number of morphemes in which the point of articulation of one of the consonants contained in them varies, evidently being conditioned by some high-level, non-phonological factor in the environment. Such variation is most apparent in respect of laminals. Note, for example, the following list of allomorph pairs, each consisting of free morpheme plus bound morpheme:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This is the oblique stem of *Wikam* (see 2.2.1).

<sup>2</sup>For specific words containing the bound morphemes, see the Dictionary. The reader should also consider the fact that Ken M. Jerrold claims that it is possible to say *ngurrinhtha* for *ngurrinytya*, the locative case of *ngurriny swag, roll*. Gilbert Bobby would not accept such a construction, but Robert Churnside provides a similar one for *Ngarluma* (see Hale 1960:234).



thurla *butt-peg*, tyurla-  
 mutha *nose*, mutya-  
 kuyhi *bone*, kul-<sup>1</sup>

Note also the interchange which takes place between nh and ny in the following cognate set, consisting of verb stems and nouns: punhtha- (VØ) *be washing*, punhtha- (VL) *wash*; punytyat (NC) *dew*, punytyi<sup>2</sup> (NC) *native yellow perch*.

Interchange between alveolar and retroflex articulation is observable within certain bound morphemes. Consider the following word pairs: kalawara *trousers*, karlaura *wheel* (cf. Nyamal kala *thigh*);<sup>3</sup> mantarrangu *kind of twisting vine*, marntamirraa *eel* (cf. manta- (VR) *bind*).<sup>4</sup> Such interchange between p and k<sup>5</sup> cannot be perceived unless data from another language is introduced; that is, Yindjibarndi kurlu *small of back*, Ngarluma purlu; Yindjibarndi -kula *both*, Ngarluma -pula; Yindjibarndi wirnka- (VØ) *whistle*, Nyangumarda wi[r]npalpi- (VL).

There is at least one example involving variation in manner of articulation of a consonant between free and bound morpheme: nguri *circle*, kuriwaartarri- (VØ) *circle back*. In this context compare Yindjibarndi kumpa *face* with Nyangumarta ngumpa. Note also the variation between stop and nasal plus stop in the morpheme meaning *weight* found in the following two terms: martama- (VL) *put weight on*, ngungkumarnta *strong and heavy*.<sup>6</sup> Here also compare Yindjibarndi winpiri *long and slender*, Ngarluma wipiri. Assimilation is indicated in Yindjibarndi yllimpirraa *mudlark* and nyimpa- (VØ) *react*. Compare Ngarluma yilinpirrira and nyinpa-, respectively.

<sup>1</sup>kul- comes from \*kuyi- (see 2.2.9).

<sup>2</sup>See the latter part of 2.2.7 on the fronting of a.

<sup>3</sup>Compare parntanyat (NC) *part of the body where the thigh joins the hip* from \*parntanyal, parntanyarplri- (VØ) *sit cross-legged* from \*parntanyarl + \*-pi + \*-rri- (VØ).

<sup>4</sup>Note also Yindjibarndi kartaa *side of face*, Ngarluma kartara, but Pandjima katara (cf. Nyungar, Western Desert kata *head*).

<sup>5</sup>On that obtaining between m and ng, consider the following examples: Yindjibarndi muurnkarri- (VØ) *hum*, Western Desert nguurnma- (VN); Yindjibarndi ngartarla *tubular*, Western Desert marta.

<sup>6</sup>Compare thathamarnrta *greedy* and see the Dictionary.

## 2.3. Prosodics

### 2.3.1. Syllable Structure

A syllable in Yindjibarndi consists of one mora<sup>1</sup> or of two identical morae plus a consonant on either or neither side. The mora (M) or mora pair carries an accent (see following section) and therefore contains the volume peak of the syllable, while the potential consonants (C) make up the slopes. Syllables may take on the following forms:

M: u in *nhau sees* and uu *or* and i in *pii flat*

MM: uu *or*<sup>2</sup> and aa in *piiaa like a flat*

CM: nha in *nhau sees* and pi in *pii flat*

CMM: *pii flat*

MC: urr in *thuurr big and slow*

MMC: 'no examples'

CMC: mun in *munti really* and may in *maya house*

CMMC: *thuurr big and slow*

Variations in syllable structure occur in the terms *uu or*, *pii flat* and *thuurr big and slow*, because long vowels, especially high ones, may be pronounced either as part of a single syllable consisting of two morae or as part of two different ones, i.e. with one mora in each. When a long vowel is pronounced as part of a single syllable, the accent tends to centre on the first mora and trails off through the second.

Syllable boundaries are characterised by a volume decrease or trough. Because consonant clusters can only be disyllabic (see 2.1.2.4) and because single consonants are pronounced as if they were a geminate cluster in medial position between vowels (see 2.1.2.1), syllable boundaries consist only of the following types:

...C<sub>1</sub>.C<sub>2</sub>..., where C<sub>1</sub> ≠ C<sub>2</sub> or [C<sub>1</sub> = C<sub>2</sub>] + C

Examples: ...n.t... in *munti really*<sup>3</sup>

...y.y... in *maya house*

<sup>1</sup>A mora is a unit of vocalic quantity which is equivalent to one short vowel or half a long vowel.

<sup>2</sup>This word, which is a borrowing, is the only one in the language consisting of only a long vowel.

<sup>3</sup>On one occasion I asked an able Yindjibarndi speaker to divide this word into syllables. He did it in the following way: mu.nti. Whatever this datum may suggest, I can assure the reader that *munti* is not pronounced this way in normal speech.

(...)M<sub>1</sub>.M<sub>2</sub>(...), where M<sub>1</sub> ≠ M<sub>2</sub> or M<sub>1</sub> = M<sub>2</sub>

Examples: ...a.u in *nhau sees*  
 ...i.a in *piiaa like a flat*  
 ...i.i in *pii flat*  
 u.u in *uu or*

### 2.3.2. Accent

Within the domain of the word, stress and pitch are combined to form three degrees of accent - primary or strong (1), secondary (2) and tertiary or weak (3). In words containing only short vowels, the accent pattern is straightforward, adhering to the following basic design:

1 3 2 3 2 3

The same formula also holds, when long vowels only occur in odd syllables,<sup>1</sup> e.g. *thaarta hollow*. However, even here some variation already begins to occur, because of 'vowel breaking'. So, for example, in the word *ngunhungkiirri they*, the accent pattern is 1 3 2 3 varying with 1 3 2 3 2. That is, when the long vowel is pronounced as a long vowel the regular pattern obtains. However, when it is pronounced as if it were a sequence of two short vowels, the variant pattern is obtained.

Now when a long vowel occurs in an even syllable, the basic pattern may not be adhered to, depending on whether the long vowel is pronounced as long vowel or not. If it is, then the stronger accent on the syllable, preceding it, will be attracted onto it.<sup>2</sup> Let us, therefore, consider a number of cases in order to see how the standard accent pattern may be altered, when long vowels occur in Yindjibarndi words:

In disyllabic words with a long vowel in the second syllable, the accent is optionally deflected to the second syllable, providing the possible pattern 3 1.<sup>3</sup> However, if the long vowel is a high one, it may be broken, producing a pattern 1 3 2. Examples of words following

<sup>1</sup>Syllables are discussed in the preceding section. Other examples include *kaarwara loincloth* and *kaarwanytyaangu* the infinitive aspect of *karrwanytyi-* (VØ) *slip, slide*.

<sup>2</sup>See what Capell (1956:8) has to say.

<sup>3</sup>In words with twice this number of syllables, the same change can be observed. For example, *ngunhaangata this position* follows the pattern 3 1 2 3, and *ngurnaapurraa approximately towards him* the pattern 3 1 3 2.

these patterns include *pirrii match*, *purruu hair belt*, *kartaa side of face*, *yurnrtaa flour* and *tyarraarn frog*. When a second long vowel is introduced, the situation becomes slightly more complicated. With *kiitaa guitar* and *maapuu*, the objective case of *maap mob*, the pattern is 3 1 for the former<sup>1</sup> and 1 3 2 for the latter. However, *paarnpaarn mulga parrot* with a final consonant seems to follow the pattern for disyllabic words with short vowels, i.e. 1 3. And *nyiinnyiin giddiness* distinctly follows the pattern 1 3 2 3, having both its high vowels broken.

In trisyllabic words with a long vowel in the second syllable, the accent ordinarily deflects to the long vowel, if that vowel is *aa*, giving a pattern of 3 1 2. Examples include *nyilaarti native mead*, *nyinkaarnrtu yours*, *piyaarri gets thirsty*, *purnngaarri cyclonic cloud*, *wanyaarri hears* and *Purtaarri place where death is said to have originated*. However, if the long vowel is *ii* or *uu*, then the vowel is nearly invariably broken, producing an accent pattern of 1 3 2 3. Examples include *paliirri blue-tongue lizard*, *nhungkiirri these*, *kuruuru plump* and *ngunhthuuyu other side*. However, one must remember that these rules are not hard and fast, so that, for example, *ngatyaarra helpful* seems to follow the pattern for words with high long vowels, whereas *purniina* follows the pattern for words containing *aa*.

The same pattern just discussed also holds when the first short vowel is replaced by a long vowel. Examples include *nguorraarri snarls* and *kaayuurru southward*. However, it does not hold, if the second long vowel is placed in the third syllable instead of the first. The accent pattern now becomes 1 3 3 2. Relevant examples include *thathaarlaa liar* and *martuurraa twilight*. This accent pattern of 1 3 3 2 also holds for trisyllabic words having three long vowels. One example is *maapuurraa in the general direction of the group*.

### 2.3.3. Intonation and Punctuation

I did not do much in the way of studying intonation, my time being kept fully occupied by a consideration of the more mundane aspects of the language. Therefore, I will only briefly note that declarative and 'wh'-interrogative sentences seem to follow a 'bumpy', staccato type of intonation pattern, while imperative sentences are characterised

<sup>1</sup>I would feel more confident about making this statement, if I could observe this same shift in a non-borrowed word. It is difficult to hear length in the first syllable, yet the vowel is pronounced tense.

by a relatively loud, fortis level one, and 'yes-or-no' interrogative sentences by a final rising intonation contour.<sup>1</sup> These three types of sentences (see 4.2.2) are marked at the end<sup>2</sup> by a 'period' or 'full stop' (.), 'question mark' (?) and 'exclamation point' (!),<sup>3</sup> respectively, as in English.<sup>4</sup> And, of course, they always begin with a capital letter.<sup>5</sup>

Internal types of punctuation marks also find good use in Yindjibarndi. The semicolon (;), for instance, is used to conjoin closely associated independent sentences as, for example, in bipolar comparatives (see 4.2.6). It is also really essential to have a semicolon in falsely conjoined sentences like the following:

<sup>1</sup>The intonation patterns for imperative and 'yes-or-no' interrogatives roughly resemble those used in English, but the one for declarative and 'wh'-interrogative sentences seems to be very different. I doubt very much whether the first two types have been affected by English. See Dixon 1977:382.

<sup>2</sup>It is important to punctuate Yindjibarndi sentences in this way, because these marks indicate intonation patterns, and sometimes it is only the intonation pattern, which enables one to discriminate a declarative sentence from an interrogative sentence from an imperative sentence. For example, compare the following:

Ngayinhtharri pangkarrii.

*We will go.*

Ngayinhtharri pangkarrii?

*Will we go?*

Ngayinhtharri pangkarrii!

*Let us go!*

As one can plainly see, there is even more reason for having punctuation marks in Yindjibarndi than there is in English.

<sup>3</sup>Vocative forms are also punctuated with an exclamation mark. See 3.2.1.1.1.

<sup>4</sup>It is important to recognise that English provides a dominating linguistic environment for Yindjibarndi. Punctuating Yindjibarndi as much as possible like English will mean that Aborigines who become literate in their own language will have less trouble learning to read and write English. Also, a regional language which closely resembles a major language in written form will stand a much greater chance of acceptance by native speakers of English, who frequently think of such languages as being disorganised and underdeveloped.

<sup>5</sup>Capital letters are also used to capitalise proper names, regardless of whether these proper names are proper nouns or not in Yindjibarndi. Capital letters are also used to capitalise just about everything else that is capitalised in English. So, for example, Minkala *God* is capitalised, but parri *the devil* is not. Similarly, the words for *sun* and *moon*, yurra and wilarra, respectively, are not capitalised, but *Venus*, that is, Parnrturrarna is. However, there is no reason to capitalise the first person singular pronoun in Yindjibarndi, i.e. ngayi, as there is in English.

Yurra karpawa;            ngayi ngarrkunha.<sup>1</sup>  
*sun    rise-PRES-EMP I        eat-PAST*  
*I ate breakfast at sunrise.*

Another example, similar to the one given above, can be found in Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 7.

The comma (,), on the other hand, can be used to separate clauses within a sentence, thereby making the internal grammatical structure apparent. For example, a liberal application of the comma turns out to be very helpful in explicating very long and complicated sentences, such as the one which occurs in Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5. The comma may also be used to introduce quoted speech. In such circumstances the quoted material is always set off by quotation marks (' '). See Text 71, paragraph 2, for illustrations. However, when the quoted material consists of several sentences, it should be introduced by a colon (:) instead of a comma as shown in Text 54.

The dash ( - ) may be used as in English to mark off a statement within a statement or to introduce a listing of items, for example -

Wanhthinhau    nyinta purpi - nhurnu,        ngurnu?  
*which one-OBJ you        want        this(OBJ)    that(OBJ)*  
*Which one do you want - this one or that one?*

Note also the use of the comma to separate the individual items in the list.<sup>2</sup> And see also 4.1.1.3.

Parentheses ( ) may be employed from time to time to enclose parenthetical matter. In this regard see Text 52, sentence 4 and Text 55, sentence 5.

Finally, there is the apostrophe ('). This mark of punctuation does not seem to have much use in Yindjibarndi except perhaps to indicate an elided final vowel, e.g. palam' for palamu (see 2.2.1).

#### 2.3.4. Speech Style

Cultivated Yindjibarndi, that is, Yindjibarndi as it is spoken by mature, knowledgeable individuals whose primary orientation is toward Aboriginal rather than White culture, is spoken with weak articulation and at low volume. Crisp, clear diction is interpreted as an overt

<sup>1</sup>This rare and remarkable utterance, produced by Cheedy Ned, literally states: *The sun is rising. I ate.*, where -wa is a lenited form of the emphatic clitic used as an indicator of 'time' (see 3.2.2.4). Normally, one would expect a construction of the following type: Yurra karpayangula(wa), ngayi ngarrkunha. See 4.2.4.3.

<sup>2</sup>See the first two sentences in Text 55 for similar examples.

indication of hostility, especially when it is combined with a loud voice. However, fortis pronunciation alone is often enough to make an Aborigine grimace. Another characteristic of Yindjibarndi, which is worth mentioning is the speed at which it is spoken. It is comparable to that of lively Spanish, again making the language somewhat difficult to follow.

Finally, we will discuss a style of speech, which the Yindjibarndi call 'talking light'. What this means is that retroflexion is effectively neutralised, making it impossible to hear a contrast between alveolar and retroflex consonants, unless one learns to use the subphonemic quality of the preceding vowel as a cue (see 2.1.3.1). However, even this tactic can be difficult to use with rapid speech, where laxness tends to replace tenseness. One may at first think that the dropping of retroflexion in Yindjibarndi could be caused by some speakers trying to emulate the pronunciation of modern Australian English, where post-vocalic 'r' has been lost.<sup>1</sup> However, if one considers the overall situation, he will realise that the solution cannot be that simple.<sup>2</sup>

On one occasion I asked a man about my own age whether the word for *and* is supposed to be pronounced 'muntu' or 'murnrtu'. He replied that it is 'murnrtu' if you are talking 'heavy' and 'muntu' if you are talking 'light'. Thus, the situation consists not only of erasing retroflexion from surface representations<sup>3</sup> of retroflex consonants, but also of adding it to alveolars from time to time. Such pronunciation 'shifts' are known to have occurred in earlier periods, because they have become standardised in the language and are therefore retrievable via the comparative method. For example, consider the following cognate sets: karlaura *wheel*, kalawara *pants*, Nyamal kala *thigh*, Yindjibarndi kukurntyayi *sheep*, Nyungar, Western Desert kukuntyari; Yindjibarndi kurtan *sack, bag*, Nyungar kutu; Yindjibarndi kartaa *side of face*, Ngarluma kartara, Pandjima katara, Nyungar, Western Desert kata *head*.

<sup>1</sup>What sort of English the first settlers in this area must have been speaking can be inferred from borrowings like tharrki *turkey* and warrkam *work*.

<sup>2</sup>This is not to say that some speakers do not indulge themselves in post-vocalic r dropping, which is no doubt traceable to English. One old fellow consistently pronounces the word for *ear* as 'kuka' and that for *ankle* as 'nhuuka'.

<sup>3</sup>I do want to assure the reader that there is without doubt an underlying structural contrast between alveolar and retroflex articulation in Yindjibarndi, even though it may take a while to determine which pronunciation is correct for a particular word. For example, the correct pronunciation for *and* is definitely 'muntu'. Murnrtu means *thick*. See also 2.1.2.2, where minimal pairs are provided in a footnote.

### 3. WORD MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1. Parts of Speech

Every word in the Yindjibarndi language belongs to one of four parts of speech - noun, pronoun, indeclineable or verb stem. Each one of these parts of speech will be discussed in detail in the order in which they have just been listed.

##### 3.1.1. Nouns

We shall begin our discussion of the parts of speech with nouns, which constitute the most common type of word encountered in Yindjibarndi.

##### 3.1.1.1. Stem Classification

Nouns may be classified in terms of the inflectional classes to which they belong, as to whether they are free or bound, and also in respect of their internal structures.

##### 3.1.1.1.1. Inflectional Classes

There are three open nominal declensional classes in Yindjibarndi: common, proper and retroflex. The first is by far the largest, containing the great majority of nouns. The second is a much smaller class. It contains the names (but not nicknames) of humans, emu-people and dogs, many place names (specifically excluding rivers) and a few ordinary words which are thrown in for no apparent good reason.<sup>1</sup> The third class only contains one noun<sup>2</sup> as far as I have been able to tell, but there is no reason to assume that this class is closed. Additional members may come to light later, particularly if the high language is studied in detail.

It is important to understand that the classification of nouns according to these three declensional classes has a large measure of arbitrariness associated with it. For example, if one takes the common noun *kuyu side* and attaches the suffix *-ra* to it, he derives *kuyaa*

<sup>1</sup>For example, *kutapa* (NP) *short*. Cf. *kuta* (NC) *short*. A very large number of kinship terms are proper nouns. One might argue that the reason they are so classified is that they are in a sense names of humans. However, then he must think up a reason to explain why some of them are common.

<sup>2</sup>However, a few pronouns belong to this class. They are *wala that (mid-distant)*, oblique stem *walaa-*, *ngunhaa that* with two oblique stems, *ngulaa-* and *ngurnaa-*, and *wanhtha- which*, which is a bound stem (see 3.1.2.1.3 and 3.1.2.2).



*other side*, another common noun. However, when the same suffix is added to *kaya older brother*, a synonymous proper noun *kayaa* is produced. Finally, when the same operation is performed on *tyuntu way*, the retroflex noun *tyuntaa that way* appears.

Besides these three open classes, there are two additional closed classes to which are assigned the four cardinal directions plus upstream and downstream. It is clear that these two classes are closed, their membership being semantically determined.

### 3.1.1.1.2. Free Stems vs. Bound Stems

Nouns can also be divided into free stems and bound stems. Free stems are those nouns which can appear as independent words. Nouns which are bound stems cannot stand as independent words, but must appear in conjunction with a suffix, clitic or another stem. In Yindjibarndi one often finds special bound stems which are synonymous with free stems. For example, the word for *thigh* is *wulu*, but in derivations one usually finds *kala*.<sup>1</sup>

This free vs. bound dichotomy more or less cross-cuts the system of declensional classes discussed in the previous section, so that it is theoretically possible for any free stem to occur in any declensional class as well as any bound stem to occur in any declensional class.<sup>2</sup> In reality all possible combinations do not obtain. The vast majority of bound nouns are also common nouns. A miniscule number of bound nouns are proper. *Yiya-* in *yaala now*, *yiyangu new* is one of them. No bound nouns<sup>3</sup> belong to the retroflex class. On the other hand, nouns belonging to the two classes for directions are all bound. Free nouns are restricted to the three open classes, common, proper and retroflex.

### 3.1.1.1.3. Internal Structure

In terms of their internal structure, nouns can be divided into five types: simple, compound, complex, compound-complex and sentential.

<sup>1</sup>For derivations incorporating *kala-* see the Dictionary below that bound stem. See also *tyinakala* and *karlaura*.

<sup>2</sup>However, bound stems, unlike free ones, do not as a rule possess complete declensional paradigms within the declensional class to which they belong.

<sup>3</sup>There is, however, a bound pronominal stem. It is *wanhtha-* (PR) *which* (see 3.1.2.2). Compare *wanhthi-* (PP) *which* and *tha-* (PC) *what* with it.

There is not much to say about simple, that is, monomorphemic, nouns except that one should not assume that every short one is simple. For example, the term *watyi bad*, although it looks simple enough, is actually a complex noun (see further below) which consists of the bound root *waty-* *bad* plus the contentless suffix *-tyi* (see 3.2.1.2). This fact can be ascertained by comparing the Ngarluma cognate *wallka bad*, which is composed of *wall-* and *-ka*. The Proto-Ngayardic form was evidently *\*wall bad*, which reflected into Yindjibarndi as the bound stem *waty-*, since Yindjibarndi does not permit monosyllabic free stems of one mora length. The Yindjibarndi word for the Pailgu, which is *Patyku*, is apparently structured similarly; cf. Pailgu *Pallku Pailgu*.

Compound nouns are composed of two<sup>1</sup> different<sup>2</sup> nouns<sup>3</sup> joined together. They are of two types, those consisting of an adjectival noun modifying an ordinary noun and those consisting of an ordinary noun modifying another ordinary noun.<sup>4</sup>

In the first case the order of appearance is generally head plus modifier as is demonstrated in the following examples:

<sup>1</sup>One noun discussed below in the text contains three words. But even it is in a sense composed of two nouns, the first itself a compound and the second a simple noun.

<sup>2</sup>If the two nouns are identical, and each is two syllables or less long, the second is considered to be a representation of the suffix of reduplication (see 3.2.1.1.2). Forms like *kuyharra kuyharra four*, literally *two and two*, are not compounds, but conjoined nouns (see 4.2.4.1).

<sup>3</sup>There are also two examples, namely *ngunhaangata that position* and *ngunhthuuyu that side*, which consist of pronoun plus noun. See the Dictionary for a morphological analysis and compare the latter example with *murnakuyu this side*, which appears further below in the text. These two examples do not really constitute exceptions, since pronouns are more or less a variety of noun (see especially 3.1.2.1.4). Another, somewhat more unusual example, consists of indeclineable plus noun. It is *mirtawatyi (NC) good*, literally *not bad*. Perhaps this exception can be explained as having been formed at an earlier period in time, when *mirta not* was presumably a common noun. Compare Ngarluma *mirta (NC) not*, *mirtawallka (NC) good*. In any case this construction must still be considered unusual, since *mirta* is not a negator for nouns (see 4.1.3).

<sup>4</sup>But note the co-ordinate compound noun *ngungkumarnta (NC) strong and heavy*, literally *strength and weight*, which consists of the two bound noun stems *ngungku-strength* (cf. *ngungkuwarrimarta weak*, literally *without strength*) and *-marnta weight* (cf. *martama- (VL) put weight on* and see also *thathamarnrta* in the Dictionary).

karlawirrura  
*fire-quick*  
*dragonfly*

kumpawirruu<sup>1</sup>  
*face-wrong*  
*proscribed for marriage*

kurkawaty  
*ear-bad*  
*deaf*

ngurrangarnrtu  
*ground-sore*  
*place where a person has died*

thaawarru  
*mouth-black*  
*carpet snake*

wangkarrwanarra  
*throat-long*  
*camel*

Significant exceptions are:

kantungarra  
*low-view*  
*low-lying cloud over the ocean*

murnakuyu  
*close-side*  
*this side*

In the second case the order of appearance is modifier plus head:

kalawara  
*thigh-clothes*  
*short pants*

kariwarnrta<sup>2</sup>  
*poison-plant*  
*plant used to poison fish*

marnrtangatha  
*rock-root*  
*ridge-tail monitor*

parumaya<sup>3</sup>  
*spinifex-house*  
*humpy*

Puthingaarta  
*cat-man*  
*Frank Wordick (nickname)*

<sup>1</sup>In Aboriginal English this term is translated as *funny face*. *Funny* is in fact a legitimate translation of wirruu.

<sup>2</sup>It is true that kari can function as an adjective and mean *bitter*, *salty*, etc., but here it is used as a noun meaning *poison*.

<sup>3</sup>There are a myriad of compound nouns in which *maya house* is the final element.

Exceptions include:

*martawutpu*  
*blood-axe*  
*sap from the bloodwood tree*

*ngarraurlu*  
*view-small of back*  
*for good (as in go for good)*

The following one is especially interesting because it contains three terms, the first two of which are out of order:

*ngarlupurpaamaya*  
*belly-hump-house*  
*take-away liquor store*

Complex nouns are those consisting of stem plus suffix or of *bound* stem plus clitic (see 3.3.3). Many examples of complex nouns can be found below 3.2.1.

Compound-complex nouns are similar to compound nouns except that one of the nouns is complex. Consider the following examples:

*ngurrawarnrturala*  
*place-various-LOC*  
*on walkabout, on tour*

*ngurranyutyungkamu*  
*earth-soft-LOC-ANA*  
*before when the earth was soft,*  
*during the dreamtime*

In the second example presented immediately above, there is an anaphoric clitic following the locative suffix. Note further that this locative suffix is relevant to the second term and not the sum of the first and second.

In the following example, which contains a purely derivational suffix, the adjective is apparently out of order:

*kayauluyu*  
*red-louse-SUFFIX*  
*coppertail snake*

Compare *kuluwirri brown snake*, the name for another small snake.

Sentential nouns are unusual. They are composed of a verb and its direct object (in reverse order), the latter being in the nominative case. The subject of the verb is not expressed and thus translates into English as *someone, something* or *he, she, etc.* (see 4.2.1).

The best example is:

*Tyirnrtaurina*  
*hot coal-pull out-PAST*  
*Millstream*

Evidently, sometime in the past - possibly back at the beginning of the world - someone pulled some hot coals out of a fire there. Note that the first consonant in the verb stem *purri-* (VN) *pull out* has been lenited.

The next example is not as clear:

Murlunmunytyurna  
-swallow-PAST  
*Crossing Pool*

The meaning of the element *murlun-* is not known by the present-day Yindjibarndi, but since we know that *Crossing Pool* is the place where the sea serpent swallowed the two initiands back during the dreamtime (see Text 75), we can guess that *murlun-* is the bound form of *pirtuwangu initiand* (see also the first footnote in 2.2.8).

In the final example there are also problems:

karlamana  
fire-  
falcon

According to today's language, we should translate *mana* as *grabs*, that is, high language *mana-* (VØ) *grab* plus -Ø PRESENT TENSE MARKER. However, it is clear that Falcon grabbed the fire from Willy Wagtail before when the earth was soft (see Text 74), and thus we really ought to interpret *mana* here as the past tense of the Proto-Ngayardic monosyllabic verb stem *\*ma-* (VN) *grab* (see 3.1.4.1.3.2). The preceding two examples, which are clearly in the past tense provide further support for this analysis. In modern Yindjibarndi past tense forms are indeclineable (see 3.3.1) and therefore obviously cannot be the basis for a compound noun. The old language was evidently like *Ngarluma*, where past tense forms are nominal.

### 3.1.1.2 Case and Number

#### 3.1.1.2.1. Number<sup>1</sup>

Singularity is not marked, and there is only a single dual number marker *-kuyha*<sup>2</sup> for all nouns<sup>3</sup> irrespective of stem class. In contrast,

<sup>1</sup>This discussion should be of particular interest to linguists in that 'the marking of number with nouns is rare...' (Wurm 1977:25) in Aboriginal languages.

<sup>2</sup>The suffix *-kula* is not an alternate number marker, but a derivational suffix meaning *both* (see 3.2.1.1.1).

<sup>3</sup>The situation with respect to pronouns is very different. I have never come across an interrogative (3.1.2.2) or reflexive pronoun (3.1.2.3) marked for dual number or plural number for that matter either. The personal pronouns employ four distinct dual number markers (see 3.1.2.1.2).

there are many plural number markers.<sup>1</sup> The rules governing their distribution are as follows: *-ngarli* is used with common nouns and retroflex nouns.<sup>2</sup> *-pathaa*,<sup>3</sup> which also serves as an alternate direct allative case marker, is employed with proper nouns. The other plural number markers listed below are preferred with the particular common nouns which are indicated in the discussion that follows them.

*-ngaa*: This plural number marker only occurs with *mani part, rest*. However, its Ngarluma cognate *-ngara* evidently has a somewhat wider distribution.

*-pirri*: This plural number marker only occurs with *tyurtu native flower*. It is homophonous with a derivational suffix meaning *-ish* (see 3.2.1.1.2). Compare *-pirti* (next item), which sounds the same as another meaning *-y*. In this regard see also discussion on *-warrangu* below.

*-pirti*: *-pirti* apparently only occurs with *pauny wind grass*, but there is little doubt in my mind that it is a base form of which *-wirti*, *-pirri* and *-wirri* (see above and below) are variants. *-wirti* is an obvious lenition (2.2.10) product of it. *-pirri* and *-wirri* manifest a spurious dissimilation of *rt* to *rr* in relation to the consonants in the second syllable of the words which they pluralise. It is not clear why *-pirri* does not lenite after *tyurtu*.

*-pura*: This plural number marker is apparently only employed with *kamparra*, a noun denoting a kind of substance used to kill sea serpents. The noun was borrowed from Ngarluma, and the plural suffix came with it. As a point of interest note that *-pura* is an allative case marker in Thalandji (see O'Grady and others 1966:107). Compare *-pathaa*, the plural number marker for proper nouns which was mentioned in the opening paragraph to this section.

*-rarri*: Occurs only with *mina soft spinifex*.

*-rra*: Only with *mangkurla child*.

<sup>1</sup>There are also many plural number markers in Nyangumarda (see O'Grady 1964:63-64) and Bandjalang (see Crowley 1978:39-42).

<sup>2</sup>At least it is used with *tyuntaa that way*, which is the only retroflex noun I collected. Sometimes *-ngarli* is also employed with proper nouns, but this practise should be avoided.

<sup>3</sup>I have only observed this suffix in the environment after a vowel where it lenites to *-wathaa*. However, after a consonant other than *rr*, it will without doubt appear as *-pathaa*.

-rri: This plural number marker occurs with *kupitya small*. The derivation is an interesting one in that *ty* in the stem then lenites, giving rise to *kupiyarri little ones*. Such a lenition does not occur in the dual or with oblique cases in the singular. -rri may also be found in the term *ngawurtarri hailstorm*, which is evidently the plural form of a bound noun meaning *hailstone* (cf. *ngawurtan miniature cucumber*). But see also next item.

-rtarri: This plural number marker is used with the term for *puppy*, which is *warnma*. It may also occur in the word *ngawurtarri hailstorm* (cf. *ngawurr bubble*). But see preceding item.

-urru: -urru occurs only with *paru (hard) spinifex*. It is a lenited form of -kurru. Compare *Ngarluma parukurru lots of spinifex*. Note that -kurru serves as a directional allative case marker in *Yindjibarndi* (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). See also -pura above.

-warrangu: This plural number marker only occurs with *maanun unfortunate*. It may be derived from -karra + -ngu (cf. *Nyangumarda -karrangu PLURAL SUFFIX*). In this regard note that Ken M. Jerrold normally employs *warrapaarra* as the plural of *warrapa grass*, whereas Gilbert Bobby says that to him it just means *grassed* or *grassy* (see 3.2.1.1.2 under -karra). See also -pirri.

-wirri: -wirri only occurs with *wartu very soft spinifex*, but see -pirti above.

-wirti: This plural number marker occurs with at least the following nouns: *warrapa grass*, *wirpinykaa tall river spinifex* and *yalarri fan-top rush*. Note that all of them are names for plants as are all the nouns which take plural number markers which are related to -wirti (see -pirti above).

Agreement with numerals is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

kali '½' + NOUN-SINGULAR  
 kunytyirri '1' + NOUN-SINGULAR  
 kuyharra '2' + NOUN-DUAL  
 tyarrwirti, tyarrwurti '3' + NOUN-PLURAL  
 yurlu '0' + NOUN-PLURAL

However, the dual and plural can always be replaced by the singular.

<sup>1</sup>The quantifiers *kutya few*, *maru many* and *manuwarra great multitude*, which are used in lieu of larger numbers, follow *tyarrwirti three*.

It is also worth mentioning here that there appears to be no real difference between count nouns and mass nouns in Yindjibarndi as there is in English. Thus, mass nouns like *pawa water* can take plural number<sup>1</sup> markers just like count nouns. Under these circumstances plural suffixes mean *a lot of* or *much*; for example, *pawangarli maru a lot of water*. I should also point out that one must be careful in translating plural forms of words such as *warrapa grass*. *Warrapawirti* means *a lot of grass*. In order to express the meaning *grasses* one must add the topic clitic *-mpa* plus the categorial clitic *-purtu* (see 3.2.2.3).

On the use of plural number markers<sup>2</sup> to express the meaning *group*, see Text 74.

Finally, the reader should understand that number markers are suffixes and that marking for number constitutes a derivational process, which leads to the production of common nouns. Such derived nouns may then be inflected for case just like any common noun.

### 3.1.1.2.2. Case

There are eight cases in Yindjibarndi. They are the nominative, locative, ablative, instrumental, objective, allative, comitative and genitive. The locative case and the allative case each have a number of distinct subtypes. Although a vocative occurs, it is not treated as a case, because its distribution is extremely restricted (see the last item in 3.2.1.1.1).

#### 3.1.1.2.2.1. The Endings, Their Distribution and Internal Structure

All case markers in Yindjibarndi are suffixes except for *-yi* and *-ku*, two of the endings which indicate the objective case. *-yi* and *-ku* are clitics. Nouns which have been inflected with them become indeclineables (see 3.3.3), whereas nouns which have been inflected with any of the suffixes are converted into common nouns, irrespective of their original classification.

In the discussion that follows, please refer to the accompanying table, entitled 'Inflectional Endings for Nouns'.

<sup>1</sup>But I have never seen one inflected for dual number.

<sup>2</sup>Quantifiers are often employed in this capacity as well. Consider, for example, the phrase *Yinytyiparnrti manuwarra Yindjibarndi nation*, literally *Yindjibarndi multitude*. See also Radcliffe-Brown 1913:159.



# Inflectional Endings for Nouns

	NC	NP	NR	NDn	NDs
NOMINATIVE					
LOCATIVE	-ngka, -la	-la	-rta	-t	-yu
ABLATIVE	-ngkangu, -langu	-langu	-rtangu	-tngu	-yungu
INSTRUMENTAL	-ngku, -lu	-lu	-rtu		
OBJECTIVE	-yi, -ku	-ngu	-ku		
ALLATIVE, DIRECT	-karta	-ngu warta, -pathaa	-karta		
INDIRECT	-purraa	-ngu urraa	-purraa		
DIRECTIONAL				-kurru	-yuurru
COMITATIVE	-pari	-ngu wari	-pari		
GENITIVE	-arnrtu	-nga arnrtu	-tharnrtu		

NOMINATIVE CASE: The nominative case is not marked. However, the noun classifiers *-nha* and *-rna* (see 3.2.2.1) may be used with proper<sup>1</sup> and retroflex nouns, respectively, as a sort of ersatz nominative case marker. Evidently, they are the reflexes of Proto-Ngayardic accusative case markers.<sup>2</sup> The change in function may have something to do with the shift in Yindjibarndi from Ergative/Absolutive syntax to Nominative/Accusative syntax<sup>3</sup> (see also 4.2.3).

LOCATIVE CASE: Common nouns take *-ngka* and *-la* in the locative case. *-ngka* goes with monosyllabic common nouns ending in a vowel. It also occurs with disyllabic common nouns ending in a vowel provided that each syllable contains only a single short vowel. This case marker may undergo certain morphophonemic changes here (see 2.2.12). Common nouns containing three or more morae as well as all of those ending in a consonant take *-la*. In the latter context *-la* will be subjected to certain morphophonemic changes (see 2.2.4). All proper nouns take *-la*. All retroflex nouns take *-rta*. Directional nouns like *north* take *-t*; those like *south* take *-yu*.

There also exist a number of special purpose locative suffixes.<sup>4</sup> These suffixes, namely *-ra* (reversing locative<sup>5</sup>), *-rru* varying with

<sup>1</sup>On occasion *-nha* is employed with common nouns as a derivational ending meaning *one, thing, person*, etc. For example, consider the following sentence, which was spoken by Ken M. Jerrold:

Nhaa warrunha    parni    ngarrkungu puwayi    murlayi.  
*this black-thing be-PRES eat-IMPRF rotten-OBJ meat-OBJ*  
*This crow is eating rotten meat.*

See also Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 4.

<sup>2</sup>*-nha* (or *-nya*) not infrequently indicates the direct object of a transitive verb with proper nouns in Australian languages. Sometimes it marks the subject of an intransitive verb as well. See Dixon 1970:89 and 1972:9.

<sup>3</sup>Note, for example, that the objective form of the first person singular personal pronoun, which is *ngayu* (= *Ngarluma ngatyu*), is an obvious reflex of the Proto-Pama-Nyungan ergative.

<sup>4</sup>*-nhthi*, a kind of locative suffix indicating extreme position, is not discussed here, because it only occurs with the bound pronominal stems *nhu-* *this* and *ngu-* *that (far)* to form *nhunthi* *the point upon which the speaker is standing* and *ngunthi* *the farthest conceivable distance away*, respectively.

<sup>5</sup>The reversing character of the *-ra* locative suffix can perhaps be perceived most clearly in the word *warrura* *dark* (cf. *warru* *black*), literally *black on (it)* (but see also 3.1.4.1.3.4). Note, however, that in certain contexts it appears to be equivalent to an ordinary locative case marker. Compare, for example, *kankaama-* (VL) *raise* (cf. *Ngarluma kankara above*) with *kankalarri-* (VØ) *rise* (cf. *kankala above*).

-tu (allatival locative<sup>1</sup>) and -rni (ablativallocative<sup>2</sup>) often behave more like derivational suffixes than case markers. -ra occurs in *malura shady* (cf. *malu shade*) and *purlaa in front* (= *Ngarluma purlura*). -rru occurs most importantly in *thulurrungu bent over* (cf. *thulu face down*) and *pampangurru sleepy* (cf. *pampa sleep*). -rni occurs in *kankarni on top of* (cf. *kankala above, at the top*) and *murrirni behind* (cf. *murrungka at the back*).

ABLATIVE CASE: The ablative case is generally formed by joining the ablative suffix -ngu to the locative case of any given noun. With certain nouns, namely *pampa sleep* and *yirriri sick*, the locative case marker is omitted, because such nouns designate amorphous conditions. Note *pampangu<sup>3</sup> from sleep* and *yirriringu recovered*. The vague positions *murna close* and *warrwa far* usually occur without locative case markers when indicating a position, and hence the ablative forms also ordinarily occur without them (see the last part of 4.1.2.2). The locative case marker is also omitted in constructions in which -ngu means *through* (see next section for examples).

It is interesting to observe that the nouns which designate the four cardinal directions and upstream and downstream all have alternate ablatival forms, possessing highly irregular derivations.<sup>4</sup> These forms are *yaarni from the east* (cf. *yaayu in the east*), *wularni from the west* (cf. *wuluyu in the west*), *tyingkarni from upstream* (cf. *tyingkat upstream*), *yawurrarni from downstream<sup>5</sup>* (cf. *yawut downstream*), *warrantarni from the north* (cf. *wartat in the north*) and *kayilarni from the south* (cf. *kaayu in the south*). It is easy to see that they are really locative constructions, since all of them involve -rni (see preceding discussion). In this form they are restricted to use with verbs describing an on-going motion. With completed movements, the ordinary ablative suffix -ngu must be added. See the next section for examples.

<sup>1</sup>Allatival locatives 'lean toward' the thing indicated.

<sup>2</sup>Ablatival locatives 'lean away from' the thing indicated.

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 8.

<sup>4</sup>See the Dictionary for precise analyses.

<sup>5</sup>With this term compare *purluyharrarni each other* in which the sequence of allatival locative (-rru) plus ablatival locative (-rni) evidently indicates back-and-forth reciprocal action. *Purluyharrarni* occurs in combination with verbs containing a reciprocal verbaliser.

INSTRUMENTAL CASE: There are three instrumental case markers -ngku, -lu and -rtu.<sup>1</sup> Their distribution is precisely the same as that of the three locative case markers with which they alliterate.

OBJECTIVE CASE: Common nouns take either -yi or -ku. Disyllabic common nouns containing two short vowels and ending in a vowel take -yi, providing that the final vowel is not u. y is elided when -yi follows i (see 2.2.9). Those ending in u<sup>2</sup> or a consonant as well as all monosyllabic common nouns containing two morae<sup>3</sup> and all trimoraic (or longer) ones take -ku. -ku lenites to -u after vowels and rr (see 2.2.10). Retroflex nouns take unleniting -ku. Proper nouns take -ngu.

Some speakers use the objective case marker for the laminal declension (see 3.1.2.1.3), which is -yu,<sup>4</sup> as a replacive morpheme to form the objective case of long-stem common nouns ending in ...yi. In other words, for them, the objective case of ngamayi *tobacco* is ngamayu (see also 2.2.2). Gilbert Bobby claims that this is not correct, but that it is permissible to apply the same replacive morpheme to *proper* nouns ending in ...yi. For example, he says that the objective case of mayi *younger sister* is either mayingu or mayu. I advise the student of Yindjibarndi to stick to the standard rules outlined in the previous paragraph.<sup>5</sup>

ALLATIVE CASE: All common nouns take -karta in the direct allative and -purraa in the indirect allative. The initial consonants in these two case markers undergo changes following a vowel or rr (see 2.2.10 and 2.2.11). Retroflex nouns take the same two endings, which now, however, do not lenite. The respective forms for proper nouns consist again of the same two suffixes, but this time they are added on to the

<sup>1</sup>But see also -ru in section 3.2.1.2.

<sup>2</sup>In Pandjima the objective case marker for this type of noun is -yu (see O'Grady and others 1966:90). This fact suggests that historically -u in this environment is from \*-yu rather than \*-ku.

<sup>3</sup>No free noun stems contain only one mora.

<sup>4</sup>See also penultimate footnote.

<sup>5</sup>The reader should understand that the formation of mayu and ngamayu from mayi and ngamayi, respectively, is based on false analogy. In the laminal declension, which contains only the pronoun ngayi *I*, the stem is nga- and the endings are -yi for nominative case and -yu for objective case. But mayi (cf. Ngarluma mari) is a monomorphemic word, while the -yi in ngamayi (cf. Ngarluma ngamari) may be a lenited form of the derivational suffix -ri (see 3.2.1.2 and also the Dictionary).

objective case marker -ngu. -pathaa,<sup>1</sup> leniting to -wathaa, infrequently replaces -nguwarta. Nouns belonging to one or the other of the two directional declensions have only a single allative form -the directional. Those in the same paradigm as *north* take unleniting -kurru, which is the reflex of -\*l (> -t LOCATIVE CASE MARKER) + -\*kutu, and those in the one for *south* accept -yuurru, which is the reflex of -\*tyu (> -yu LOCATIVE CASE MARKER) + -\*kutu (cf. Western Desert -kutu in Douglas 1964:106-107). There is also a leniting -kurru (from -\*kutu), which occurs in the terms kankalaurru *upwards* (cf. kankala *above*), ngunhthiurru *in that direction* (cf. ngunhthi *way over there*) and murnakurru (*to*) *here* (cf. murna *close*). In the first example the locative case marker is easily identifiable. In the second -nhthi is a kind of locative suffix indicating extreme distance. No locative suffix precedes -kurru in the last example, because murna normally occurs without a locative case marker in any context.

-kurru comes from -ku OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER + -rru ALLATIVIAL LOCATIVE SUFFIX, the latter being a lenited variant of -tu.<sup>2</sup> In a similar manner -karta may be derived from -ku + -rta, a locative case marker employed in conjunction with retroflex nouns.<sup>3</sup> Consider, for example, what Blake (1977:56) says about the internal structure of many allative suffixes and note specifically the situation in Thargari (see Klokeid 1969:27-29). However, Ngarluma, a closely related language, has -karti varying with -tharta<sup>4</sup> (see Hale 1960:364), and therefore the second analysis may not be correct. -purraa pretty clearly comes from -purra, a pseudo-semblative suffix<sup>5</sup> (see 3.2.1.1.2) plus -ra, a kind of locative suffix.

<sup>1</sup>I never actually received an example containing this base form, because in all of the ones I did get, -pathaa follows a vowel. However, if -pathaa is attached to a proper noun ending in a consonant other than rr, it will not lenite.

<sup>2</sup>There is little doubt of this as in the Western Desert either -ku or -tu may replace -kutu, according to Douglas (1964:106).

<sup>3</sup>Lowering of u to a before a retroflex consonant is not unknown (see 2.2.8).

<sup>4</sup>I received an apparent cognate -yarta from one person, but Gilbert Bobby insisted that it was incorrect.

<sup>5</sup>I say this because the semblative suffix -kaa (see 3.2.1.1.1) is evidently cognate with an allative case marker in Pandjima. But also compare -purraa with the Thargari allative case marker -kurra (see O'Grady and others 1966:112) and recall that Ngarluma -pula = Yindjibarndi -kula (S) *both* (see 2.2.15).

COMMITATIVE CASE: The comitative case is indicated by the suffix -pari. This case marker lenites after vowels and rr with common nouns, but not with retroflex nouns. With proper nouns it is preceded by the objective case marker -ngu.

GENITIVE CASE: The genitive case is marked by the suffix -arnrtu. -arnrtu is usually added directly to common nouns. However, it may be preceded by the morpheme separator -th-/-ty-, which lenites to -yh-/-y- after a vowel.<sup>1</sup> -ty- occurs frequently with common nouns ending in i, but sometimes even after u and a (see Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 4 and Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 1). With retroflex nouns unleniting -th- always precedes -arnrtu. Concerning this point note the structure of the genitive case of the third person mid-distant pronoun, which is walaatharnrtu, and also that of the augmented far pronoun, which is ngurnaatharnrtu. With proper nouns -arnrtu is always preceded by the objective case marker -ngu with which it coalesces to form -ngaarnrtu (see 2.2.13). However, -nguarntu is heard on rare occasions. It is also possible to interpose the morpheme separator -ty-, deriving forms like -nguyarnrtu. In this regard compare the genitive cases of the third person pronouns *nhaa this* and *ngunhu that*, which are nhurnuyarnrtu and ngurnuyarnrtu, respectively.

### 3.1.1.2.2. Functions

A number of case markers have derivational functions in addition to the syntactic ones, which are discussed here. For example, the one employed to mark the genitive case is quite productive (see 3.2.1.1.1). Others like the one used for the indirect allative are not productive (see 3.2.1.1.2). On the locative see 3.2.1.2.

NOMINATIVE CASE: The most important function of the nominative case is to mark the subject of any verb that lies in an independent sentence, in the main clause of a sentence containing more than one clause or in a non-main conjoined clause the subject of which is identical to that of the main clause (see 4.2.4.2.1) or the verb of which is marked for locative case (see 4.2.4.2.2).

The nominative case is also employed to indicate the predicate complement of an intransitive verb, for example:

<sup>1</sup>Generally, the morpheme separator is only employed with nouns ending in a vowel, and with common nouns it is almost always -ty- that is used. But see the footnote to Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 2.

Murla parni puwa.  
*meat be-PRES rotten*  
*The meat is rotten.*

Of course, with linking verbs such as parni- (VØ) *be, sit, karri-* (VØ) *be, stand* and ngarri- (VØ) *be, lie* the verb itself is generally omitted (see 4.2.1). Another example is

Murla parnti watyi.<sup>1</sup>  
*meat smell-PRES bad*  
*The meat smells bad.*

For another similar example, see Text 33, sentence 4. What appears to be a predicate nominative with verbs in passive voice (e.g., see Text 3, sentence 2 and Text 75, paragraph 7, sentence 4) is probably just an example of the nominative case being used as a substitute for the objective case.<sup>2</sup>

The nominative case ordinarily marks the direct object of imperative verbs. Moreover, it may also optionally replace the objective case with direct objects<sup>3</sup> for any type of verb. First and second person pronouns do not follow this pattern. They must always appear in the objective case. It is definitely impossible<sup>4</sup> to say, for example,

\*Ngayi nhau nyinta.  
*I see-PRES you(NOM)*  
*I see you.*

See also 4.2.2.3.

Certain nouns and pronouns possessing innate locative meaning will normally appear in the nominative case rather than the locative case. Consider the following example:

Wanytya kunayina nhungu.<sup>5</sup>  
*dog defecate-PAST right next to speaker*  
*The dog defecated right next to me.*

Tyampu *left* and maarta *right* never take the locative case, when specifying a position, nor do murnakuyu *this side* and ngunthuyu *other side*. On murna *near* and warrwa *far*, see the last paragraph in 4.1.2.2.

<sup>1</sup>According to Ken M. Jerrold, one cannot say \*Murla parnti puwa *the meat smells rotten*. However, he can say Puwa murla parnti *rotten meat smells*. See also the preceding example in the text.

<sup>2</sup>That is, sentences like *X is called Y* are probably best interpreted as passivisations of *Z says Y to X* (see 4.2.3) with *Z* deleted.

<sup>3</sup>The nominative case may not replace the objective case with *indirect* objects.

<sup>4</sup>I checked this point a number of times with Gilbert Bobby and Harold and Cheedy Ned.

<sup>5</sup>But compare the last example under -mu in 3.2.2.2.

Nouns, such as *tyampa short time* (see Text 30, sentence 4; Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 6; Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 7; and paragraph 4, sentence 1; Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 10; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 3), *parraa long time* (see Text 63, paragraph 1, sentence 1; Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 5; and Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 4) and *mirnawarra* (see Text 49, sentence 5 and Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 2) or *mirna while* (see the fourth example in 4.2.2.3), which describe a period of time, always appear in the nominative case unless they are situated in a clause of the type discussed in 4.2.4.2.3. This is true even when the English rendition may require the prepositions *in* or *for*.

LOCATIVE CASE: The locative case is used to indicate general proximity. In order to give precise orientation, an additional descriptive noun inflected in parallel, is apposed to it (see 4.1.1.4).

The locative case is also used to indicate 'motion into'. In this regard, see Text 38, sentence 4; Text 40, sentence 2; Text 41, sentences 1, 5 and 6; Text 45, sentence 2; Text 51, sentence 2; Text 55, sentences 7 and 8; Text 56, sentence 4; Text 60, sentence 4; Text 74, paragraph 2, sentences 4 and 5; Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 8 and paragraph 7, sentence 3; Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 16 and paragraph 6, sentence 7; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 8. And also 'onto'. See Text 40, sentence 4; Text 54, sentence 4; Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 6; and Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 6.

This case takes the place of a 'pergressive'. That is, it expresses 'motion through'.<sup>1</sup> Consider the following two examples:

Mangkurla kuwartirrinha mutyingka marnrtaa.<sup>2</sup>  
*child crawl-PAST hole-LOC mountain-LOC*  
*The child crawled through the cave.*

Pangkarrinha karrangka. Kanangkarrinha wuntuuwa.  
*go-PAST scrub-LOC come-PAST river-OBJ-EMP*  
*He went through the scrub. He came to a river.*

See also the very interesting example contained in Text 60, sentence 3.

<sup>1</sup>There is in fact an independent word meaning *through*, which is *tyinartu* (see Text 31 and also Hale 1960:288). I can't think of any reason why it couldn't be used in conjunction with a noun in the locative case as *kartawinykarra across* is. On the latter see Text 40, sentence 4.

<sup>2</sup>In this sentence *mutyingka marnrtaa* can, of course, mean *into the cave*, but Gilbert Bobby assures me that it also means *through the cave*.



Words which designate points in time like times of the day (see, for example, Text 46, sentence 1; Text 66, paragraph 2, sentence 1; and Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 2), days of the week (see Text 62, paragraph 1, sentence 1 and Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 2) and seasons of the year (see, for example, Text 23, sentence 4 and Text 62, paragraph 2, sentence 1) occur in the locative case, when appearing in time expressions (see also 4.1.1.4.2 for further discussion and examples). When the locative case is employed in this manner, it may be translated into English in a number of ways such as by *in*, *on*, *at*, *during* and *for*.

Note further that *before* can be represented in Yindjibarndi by the term *palamu*, now by *yaala* and *after* by *murrirni* (but see also 4.2.4.3). *Palamu* actually refers specifically to a *long time ago*. *Yaalayhu* means *nowadays* (see Text 75, paragraph 7, sentence 4). *Murrirni* also means *afterwards* (see Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 1) and *from now on* (see Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 10). *After that* is *murrirniyhu* (see Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 1; Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 2; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentences 10 and 14), and *later* *mirnaawa* (see Text 65, paragraph 3, sentence 4).

The locative case can express the concept of accompaniment. In such a situation it is normally translated into English as *with*, although it means more precisely *in the company of*.<sup>1</sup> Note the example given immediately below:

Ngayi maathala pangkarrii.  
I boss-LOC go-POT  
I am going to go with the boss.

For another similar example see Text 43, sentence 1. The locative case is also used to translate *with* in the English construction *mix this with that*. See Text 41, sentence 3.

This case also renders the English preposition *for*, when the latter represents a goal to be reached. See, for example, Text 56, sentence 8; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 3; Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 9; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 7; and Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 2.

The expression *times* as in *once*, *twice*, *three times* is expressed in Yindjibarndi by the locative case as shown in the following example:

Kunytyirrilampa payharna.  
one-LOC-TOP throw-PAST  
I threw it exactly one time.

See also Text 54, sentence 2 and the second example in 4.1.1.4.2.

<sup>1</sup>The meaning *accompanied by* is provided by the comitative case (which see).

-la is used as a verb conjunction (see 4.2.4.2.2). There is no doubt that this -la is the locative case marker, for in Ngarluma all nominals in such conjoined clauses are in the locative case (see Hale 1960:236-40).

The locative case can also be used as a substitute case for certain other cases. For example, it may always replace the allative case for cardinal (and similar) directions. See the last paragraph in 4.1.2.2. It may also replace the ablative case under certain conditions. For example, the ablative locative may replace the ablative case with cardinal directions, provided that the movement is still going on. For example,

Kanangkarri yaayungu.  
come-PRES east-LOC-ABL  
*Someone is coming from the east.*

may be replaced by

Kanangkarri yaarni.  
come-PRES east-ABL LOC  
*Someone is coming from the east.*

However, once the motion is completed the single ablative locative ending will not suffice. Compare the following corresponding sentences:

Kanangkarrinha yaayungu.  
come-PAST east-LOC-ABL  
*Someone came from the east.*

Kanangkarrinha yaarningu.  
come-PAST east-ABL LOC-ABL  
*Someone came from the east.*

The locative case may also replace the ordinary ablative case as a style of speech. The following is a good example of this:

Pungkanha parlunka.<sup>1</sup>  
fall-PAST cliff-LOC  
*Someone fell off the cliff.*

Another good example is found in Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

ABLATIVE CASE: The principal function of the ablative case is to indicate 'motion away from':

Ngayi pangkarrinha thuumayalangu karimayaarta.  
I go-PAST store-LOC-ABL pub-DIR ALL  
*I went from the store to the pub.*

<sup>1</sup>According to Ken M. Jerrold and Gilbert Bobby, either parlungkangu or parlunka is correct in this context. Compare, for example, Text 40, sentence 2. See also Text 38, sentence 4.

See also Text 27, sentence 3; Text 33, sentence 1; Text 40, sentence 2; Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 4; and Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 2 for similar examples. The thing from which motion is directed away from may be abstract as shown in the following example:

Warrkamulangu pangkarrinha ngurraarta.  
*work-LOC-ABL go-PAST home-DIR ALL*  
*He came home from work.*

'Motion out of', the so-called "relative" function, is indicated in the same manner, for example:

Mutyinkangu tyirraakarrinha kalunytya.  
*hole-LOC-ABL jump-PAST mouse*  
*The mouse jumped out of the hole.*

Mawarnkarra mirnumakayi watypalau  
*native doctor show-POT white fellow-OBJ*  
*The native doctor will show the white fellow how*

karpayhukayi parrimirntiu yintaangu.  
*raise-POT sea serpent-OBJ pool-LOC-ABL*  
*to raise the sea serpent out of the pool.*

For additional examples, see Text 24, sentence 2; Text 40, sentence 4; Text 66, paragraph 2, sentence 4; Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 8; Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 6; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 15.

The ablative case also indicates motion out of a direction, for example, see Text 56, sentence 6; and from a relative position, for example, see Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 2.

In a single peculiar context, -ngu unpreceded by the locative case marker is used to mean *through*. Consider the following interesting examples:

Ngayi nhau ngaartau mutyingu.  
*I look at-PRES man-OBJ hole-ABL*  
*I am looking at the man through a hole.*

Yuntu payhaku tyilirri mutyingu.  
*rain blow-PRES tiny particle hole-ABL*  
*Rain is blowing through the hole in a spray.*

Compare the first example with Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 1 and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5 and the second with the antepenultimate preceding example in the text.

On rare occasions the ablative case may be employed in a time expression:

Loopulangu<sup>1</sup>      nhaa Tharrirti yurra.  
*Friday-LOC-ABL this Saturday day*  
*Saturday is the day after Friday.*

Pampanyaalangu kunytyirri yurra.<sup>2</sup>  
*Sunday-LOC-ABL one              day*  
*One day from Sunday.*

INSTRUMENTAL CASE: The instrumental case is the case that the subject of a verb in active voice goes into when that verb is put into passive voice. See 4.2.3 for a discussion with numerous examples.

The instrumental case is also employed to indicate the instrument used in the course of performing an action (see also comitative case further below). Consider the following examples in which this function of the instrumental case is illustrated:

Minytyuwakayi marangku!  
*point at-POT hand-INST*  
*Point at it with your finger!*

Tyinaugku tyinytiwina ngayi, pungkumarnu.  
*foot-INST bump-PAST I              fall-PROG*  
*I stubbed my toe and fell.*

Parnima kartawinykarra!      Ngayi nyinku      mankuwayi kamaralu.  
*sit-IMP sideways              I              you(OBJ) take-POT camera-INST*  
*Sit sideways!              I will take your picture.*

Ngayu wanpirna warntau.  
*me              beat-PAST stick-INST*  
*Someone hit me with a stick.*

For another example, see Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 6.

OBJECTIVE CASE: The objective case is used to mark both the indirect and direct object of the verb (O'Grady 1966:76 and O'Grady and others 1966:94). Numerous examples are contained in the Texts. It is also employed to indicate the indirect object of a noun as shown below:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Compare this construction with *warrungkamu tomorrow*, literally *after night*. See 3.2.2.2 under -mu.

<sup>2</sup>This is the way to say *Monday*, if one does not like Anglicisms. Cf. *Manti Monday*.

<sup>3</sup>The preposition *from*, which translates the indirect object in the first example, is a peculiarity of standard English. *to* is what is ordinarily heard in Australia. In the dialect of American English that I grew up in, *than* is the preferred form. The latter observation leads me to wonder whether comparative *than* (see 4.2.6) fits in here as well.

Nhaa wirruu ngurnu.  
*this different that(Obj)*  
*This is different from that.*

Ngayi ngarlu winya pawayi.  
*I belly full water-Obj*  
*My belly is full of water.*

Parnka piningkarri ngaliyau waa.  
*female bungarra run-PRES us scared*  
*The female bungarra is running away, scared of us.*

And also the direct object of same. For examples in which mirnu (NC) *knowing*, *clever*, purpi (NC) *want* and manyu (NC) *ask(ing) for* are seen to take direct objects, turn to Text 20, sentence 1; Text 69, paragraph 2, sentences 1 and 5; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 4, respectively.

The objective case also identifies nominal elements contained in a non-main clause, the subject of which is equated with a noun in the main clause that is not the subject of the main clause. In this regard, see 4.2.4.2.3. It also marks an embedded sentence which functions as the direct object of the verb (see 4.2.7).

The objective case demonstrates a great capability for replacing other cases (see also 3.1.1.2.2.3). It automatically replaces the locative, ablative and instrumental cases under the conditions specified in the former part of 4.1.2.2. It optionally replaces the direct and indirect allative as described in the latter part of the same section. Finally, the objective case may be used as a substitute for the genitive case in either of its two functions, that is, as a mark of possession or as a benefactive. Consider the following respective examples:

Ngayu maali.<sup>1</sup>  
*me son's son*  
*My son.*

Nhaa murla nyinku.<sup>2</sup>  
*this meat you(Obj)*  
*This meat is for you.*

<sup>1</sup>This is a special form of address used by a man to his son.

<sup>2</sup>I am not sure whether the following two examples are comparable:

Ngayi tyuntaamarna nyinku.  
*I do that-PAST you(Obj)*  
*I did it for you.*

Wanhtharni ngarra wangkayi nyinku?  
*how tell-Obj you(Obj)*  
*How can I tell you?*

Yurluwarraku nyinku thangkarrpa.  
*have nothing-PRES you(Obj) enough-TOP*  
*I've got nothing for you and that's all there is to it.*

Additional examples can be found in Text 44, sentence 5; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 10; and Text 74, paragraph 3, sentence 1.

ALLATIVE CASE: The allative case occurs in three forms: direct, indirect and directional. Each one has a different function. The direct allative indicates 'motion directly toward'<sup>1</sup> a specific point in space,<sup>2</sup> which is expected to be reached. It generally translates into English as *to*. Consider the following example:

Ngayi nhaunha Kukurntyayingu,  
 I see-PAST Dempsey Hicks-OBJ  
 I saw Dempsey,  
 tyiwarnu 'bus'u Wikamuwartau.  
 drive-IMPRF -OBJ Wickham-DIR ALL-OBJ  
 driving the bus to Wickham.

In contrast the indirect allative case indicates 'motion in the general direction of' a certain point, which is expected to be missed. Note the following illustrative example:

Ngayi pangkarri mayawurraa, yimpaarnu.<sup>3</sup>  
 I go-PRES house-IND ALL miss-IMPRF  
 I am going roughly towards the house.

Text 61, sentence 2 contains another example. This one is slightly better in that the allative character of this case form is obviated by the context in which it appears. See also O'Grady and others 1966:93. It might also be well to mention here that the indirect allative case marker is also employed as an unproductive suffix, under which circumstances it has a slightly different meaning (see 3.2.1.1.2).

Finally, the directional allative case is used to specify 'motion in' a direction, such as a cardinal or current direction, and also 'toward' a relative, non-fixed position, such as 'up', 'close' and 'way over there'.

See the latter part of section 4.1.2.2 for more discussion and further examples involving these three variants.

COMITATIVE CASE: The comitative case seems to be a nearly superfluous case. One could just about get along without it by substituting other cases or suffixes. For example, the comitative case can be used to describe accompaniment under which circumstances

<sup>1</sup>But not 'into' or 'onto', concepts which are expressed by the locative case. Text 40 makes this point very clear.

<sup>2</sup>In saying this I do not mean to imply that the point has to be a physical one. The direct allative may be employed, for example, in talking about 'going to work' (see the third example in 4.2.4.3).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Ngayi pangkarri mayaarta *I am going directly towards the house.*

it means 'accompanied by'. In this situation it stands in a reverse relationship with respect to the locative case (which see). The following example will give a clear indication of what this means:

Wantaan ngayi pangkarrii nyintala?  
*can I go-POT you(LOC)*  
*Can I go with you?*

Wantaawarlu! Ngayi pangkarrii nyinkuwari.<sup>1</sup>  
*can-INTNS I go-POT you(COM)*  
*Of course you can! You are going to go with me.*

See Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 3 for another example.

The comitative case is also used as a replacement for the proprietive suffix (on the latter see 3.2.1.1.1 under *-karlaa*). The veracity of this statement can be demonstrated by making the following comparisons: Text 26, sentence 4 with Text 50, sentence 5; Text 39, sentence 3 with Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 4; Text 63, paragraph 3, sentence 4 with Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 2. Also, be sure to see 3.2.1.1.2 under *-payi*.

Finally, the comitative case may replace the instrumental case when the latter marks the instrument used in the performance of an action. When the instrument employed is something that is alienably possessed, then the comitative tends to replace the instrumental case provided that the verb is not in passive voice.<sup>2</sup> For example, the following sentence is a more common form of the last example shown in the discussion on the instrumental case (which see):

Ngayu wanpirna warnrtawari.  
*me beat-PAST stick-COM*  
*Someone hit me with a stick.*

For additional examples see Text 49, sentence 4; Text 55, sentence 4; Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 5; Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 5; Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 5; and apparently Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5. On the other hand, when the instrument is inalienably possessed (see 4.1.1.2), the instrumental case tends to resist replacement. The customary differential treatment of inalienable and alienable nouns is exemplified in the following single sentence:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Gilbert Bobby translates this sentence as follows: *I'm taking you with me*. Compare the first sentence in Text 57.

<sup>2</sup>When the verb is in passive voice, the instrument used in performing an action must be marked either for instrumental case or for comitative *plus* instrumental case. See the 9th and 10th examples in 4.2.3.

<sup>3</sup>See also O'Grady and others 1966:94.

Punhthakayi warrapau marangku tyurlinypari!<sup>1</sup>  
 water-POT grass-OBJ hand-INST hose-COM  
*Water the grass by hand with a hose!*

Be that as it may, there is still a definite overlap in the functions of the two cases. Compare, for example, Text 11 with Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 6 and see also Hale 1959a:11. Moreover, on many occasions Gilbert Bobby indicated to me that either case is correct for specifying an employed instrument.

GENITIVE CASE: The principle function of the genitive case is to indicate alienable possession. Alienable possession is anything which is not subsumed under inalienable possession. On the latter see 4.1.1.2.

This case can also be employed as a benefactive as it is in the following sentence:

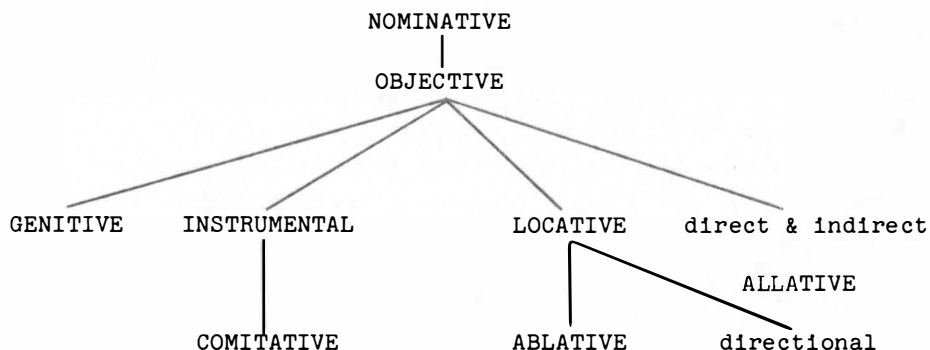
Nhaa murla nyinkaarnrtu.  
*this meat you(GEN)*  
*This meat is for you.*

See also Text 59, sentence 1, 5 and 7.

The genitive case may be replaced in both its functions by the objective case (which see). However, this does not happen often.

### 3.1.1.2.2.3 Hierarchy

A consideration of what has been said in the two immediately preceding sections and also in 4.1.2.2 might lead one to think that cases in Yindjibarndi are arranged in a hierarchy having the following structure:



<sup>3</sup>Thanks to Ken M. Jerrold for supplying this very useful sentence.



### 3.1.2. Pronouns

There are three categories of pronoun: personal and demonstrative; interrogative, indefinite and relative; and reflexive. Each of these categories will be considered in detail in separate sections below.

#### 3.1.2.1. Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns

Let us consider personal and demonstrative pronouns first.

##### 3.1.2.1.1. Overview

The personal pronouns (see table) occur in three persons, first (I), second (you) and third (he, she, it), and three numbers, singular (one), dual (two) and plural (three or more). The third person pronouns are not marked for gender (masculine, feminine and neuter) as in English, but rather for distance from speaker (near, mid-distant and far). There are two different forms for the 'far' pronoun. These seem to be essentially synonymous;<sup>1</sup> however, sometimes the augmented form appears to mean *that one*.<sup>2</sup> All of the third person pronouns are also used as demonstratives, translating the English terms, *this* and *that*.

The reader will note that there exist two pronouns in the dual for each singular pronoun, one for 'same generation' and another for 'adjacent generations'. The first is used in reference to any two persons who are exactly in the same generation level or are in generation levels which are separated by an even number of generations; for example, two brothers, a man and his sister-in-law, a woman and her grandmother, a man and his great uncle. The second is used in respect of two persons who are separated by an odd number of generations; for example, a man and his son, a woman and her aunt, a man and his great grandmother.

The reader is also advised that there is a special inclusive form for the first person dual same generation pronoun, which is not shown in the table for 'Personal Pronouns'. This form is *ngali*. It means specifically *you and I* and it is indeclineable (see 3.1.3). In order to express the oblique cases of this pronoun, one must employ the general form *ngaliya*, which means *we two* and mark it for inclusiveness by focal apposition (see 4.1.1.3). Thus, the objective case of *ngali*

<sup>1</sup>I asked Gilbert Bobby what the difference in meaning was between *ngunhu* and *ngunhaa*. He said that they really mean just about the same thing.

<sup>2</sup>Harold Ned would not accept *ngunhaa* as a free stem, but he did translate *ngunhaana* and the objective case *ngurnaaku* as *that one*.

## Personal Pronouns

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL	
1ST PERSON	ngayi	ngaliya <sup>1</sup>	ngaliyauu <sup>4</sup>	SAME GENERATION
		ngayuwarta	ngayinhtharri	ADJACENT GENERATIONS
2ND PERSON	nyinta	nyintauyha	nyintauu	SAME GENERATION
		nyinkuwi		ADJACENT GENERATIONS
NEAR	nhaa	nhurnuuyha	nhungkiirri <sup>5</sup>	SAME GENERATION
		nhurnuwi		ADJACENT GENERATIONS
3RD PERSON MID-DISTANT	wala	walaakuyha	walaangkaatyirri <sup>6</sup>	SAME GENERATION
		walaapi		ADJACENT GENERATIONS
	ngunhu	ngurnuuyha <sup>2</sup>	ngunhungkiirri <sup>7</sup>	SAME GENERATION
		ngurnuwi		ADJACENT GENERATIONS
FAR	ngunhaa	ngurnaakuyha <sup>3</sup>	ngunhaangkiirri <sup>8</sup>	SAME GENERATION
		ngurnaapi		ADJACENT GENERATIONS

<sup>1</sup>There also exists a special inclusive form ngali *you and I*, which is indeclineable.

<sup>2</sup>The alternate form ngunhuuyha, which is based on the nominative case, is equally correct.

<sup>3</sup>The alternative form ngunhaakuyha is equally correct. For example, see Text 75, paragraph 2, sentences 3 and 4.

<sup>4</sup>There is also a special inclusive form ngaliuu *several of us including you*, which is indeclineable. It is true that an objective form for this pronoun occurs in Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 7, but it must be an archaism. In contemporary speech it is most definitely impossible to decline this pronoun or its corresponding dual.

<sup>5</sup>There are two alternate forms for this pronoun, nhungkaatyirri, which also declines like a common noun, and nhungku, which is indeclineable. See the Dictionary for further derivations.

<sup>6</sup>It is not possible to say \*walaangku or \*walaangkiirri.

<sup>7</sup>There are two alternate forms for this pronoun, ngunhungkaatyirri, which also declines like a common noun, and ngunhungku, which is indeclineable. See the Dictionary for further derivations.

<sup>8</sup>There are two alternate forms for this pronoun, ngunhaangkaatyirri, which also declines like a common noun, and ngunhaangku, which is indeclineable. See the Dictionary for further derivations.

is ngaliyau nyinku. In the plural there is only a distinction between same generation and adjacent generations for the first person. But again there is a special indeclineable inclusive form for the first person same generation pronoun. This plural form is ngaliuu.

### 3.1.2.1.2. Number

The singular forms of the personal pronouns are derived from distinct roots, namely nga- *I*, nyin- *you*, nhu- *this*, wala *that (mid-distant)* and ngu- *that (far)*. In most instances, if not all, there are overt suffixes indicating nominative singular case. Such affixes are not observed among nouns (see 3.1.1.2.2.1).

Duals are formed in a relatively regular fashion for the 2nd and 3rd persons. The 'same generation' form consists of the nominative singular case plus the dual suffix -kuyha, while the 'adjacent generations' form is constructed on either the objective stem or the objective case itself, using the dual suffix -pi. The forms for 1st person do not follow this pattern. They contain the unique dual suffixes -li and -parta.

Plurals are ordinarily based on some form of the singular, either the stem or the nominative case. Ngali(ya)uu is the only plural which is derived from a dual. The pluralising suffixes are -uu, -mpurru, -nhtharri, -ngku and -tyirri, the latter two usually being found in tandem.<sup>1</sup> Persons who are interested in the derivational morphology of a particular pronoun should consult the Dictionary, where complete detailed analyses are given.

### 3.1.2.1.3. Case

The singular forms of the personal pronouns do not decline very regularly. The first person pronoun constitutes the only member of a laminal class. The second person pronoun is just plain irregular. Of the third person pronouns, nhaa and ngunhu uniquely form an anti-retroflex class, while wala and ngunhaa have more or less irregular

<sup>1</sup>The former preceding the latter. When the latter is absent, the form is indeclineable (see 3.1.3). For example, compare nhungku (PI) *these* with nhungkiirri (PC) *these*.

## Declension of Personal Pronouns in the Singular

NOMINATIVE	ngayi	nyinta <sup>4</sup>	nhaa <sup>6</sup>	wala <sup>9</sup>	ngunhu	ngunhaa <sup>15</sup>
LOCATIVE	ngayhala <sup>1</sup>	nyintala	nhula <sup>7</sup>	walaarta <sup>10</sup>	ngula <sup>11</sup>	ngulaarta
ABLATIVE	ngayhalangu	nyintalangu	nhulangu	walaartangu	ngulangu	ngulaartangu
INSTRUMENTAL	ngayhalu	nyintalu	nhulu <sup>8</sup>	walaartu	ngulu <sup>12</sup>	ngulaartu
OBJECTIVE	ngayu <sup>2</sup>	nyinku	nhurnu	walaaku	ngurnu <sup>13</sup>	ngurnaaku
ALLATIVE, DIRECT	ngayuwarta	nyinkuwarta	nhurnuwarta	walaakarta	ngurnuwarta <sup>14</sup>	ngurnaakarta
INDIRECT	ngayuurraa	nyinkuurraa	nhurnuurraa	walaapurraa	ngurnuurraa	ngurnaapurraa
COMITATIVE	ngayuwari	nyinkuwari	nhurnuwari	walaapari	ngurnuwari	ngurnaapari
GENITIVE	ngaarnrtu <sup>3</sup>	nyinkaarnrtu <sup>5</sup>	nhurnuyarnrtu	walaatharnrtu	ngurnuyarnrtu	ngurnaatharnrtu

<sup>1</sup>The stem of this case form, which is ngayha-, is a reflex of the Proto-Ngayardic locative case, which was apparently \*ngatya. In some Ngayardic languages, e.g. Nyamal (see O'Grady and others 1966:83), the reflex of this form is used as the nominative case. See also nyinta.

<sup>2</sup>This form is a reflex of the Proto-Ngayardic ergative case, which was \*ngatyu. Compare the Pandjima and Ngarluma cognates given in O'Grady and others 1966:88, 96.

<sup>3</sup>The alternates ngayarnrtu and ngayharnrtu are also possible, but unconventional.

<sup>4</sup>This is a reflex of an earlier locative case form (see the second paragraph in 2.2.4). See also ngayhala. Nyinta has a vocative form which is nyintayi (see 3.2.1.1.1).

<sup>5</sup>An extremely rare variant is nyinkuyarnrtu. Compare nhurnuyarnrtu, etc.

<sup>6</sup>This pronoun also occurs with the classifier -na. On rare occasions it is declined in parallel with ngunhaa (which see), which also takes -na. See, for example, Hale 1959a:30. This is evidently a non-standard usage as some speakers refuse to accept it as a valid form.

<sup>7</sup>This form also means *here*. There is also an uncommon, but acceptable variant nhulangka.

<sup>8</sup>A less common alternate is nhulungku.

<sup>9</sup>According to Gilbert Bobby, it is also possible to say wala, but I have never heard anyone spontaneously do so. The oblique stem of wala also occurs with the classifier -rna. See also under -rt in 3.2.1.1.2.

<sup>10</sup>This form also means *there (mid-distant)*.

<sup>11</sup>This form also means *there (far)*. It has an alternate form ngulangka, which doesn't occur very frequently.

<sup>12</sup>There also exists the variant ngulungku.

<sup>13</sup>Compare ngunhungu, which means *to there*.

<sup>14</sup>Compare ngunhunguwarta, which means the same as ngunhungu (see preceding footnote).

<sup>15</sup>This form also occurs with the classifier -na and with the unproductive suffix -t one. With ngunhaa, compare ngunhthaa(na) *that one, that place*, which is a non-declining derivation of the extreme locative construction ngunhthi *way over there*.

## Declension of Irregular Personal Pronouns in the Plural

NOMINATIVE	ngaliyauu <sup>1</sup>	nyintauu
LOCATIVE	ngaliyauula	nyintauula
ABLATIVE	ngaliyauulangu	nyintauulangu
INSTRUMENTAL	ngaliyauulu	nyintauulu
OBJECTIVE	ngaliyampurrungu	nyinkupurrungu <sup>2</sup>
ALLATIVE, DIRECT	ngaliyampurrunguwarta	nyinkupurrunguwarta
INDIRECT	ngaliyampurrunguurraa	nyinkupurrunguurraa
COMITATIVE	ngaliyampurrunguwari	nyinkupurrunguwari
GENITIVE	ngaliyampurrungaarnrtu	nyinkupurrungaarnrtu

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oblique stems, which follow the paradigm for retroflex nouns.<sup>3</sup> Because of the many complexities involved in this series, I have presented a complete declensional paradigm for each of the pronouns. See the table labelled 'Declension of Personal Pronouns in the Singular'. The dual forms all decline regularly like common nouns. Therefore, their declensional paradigms are not presented.

All the plurals except ngaliyauu and nyintauu decline in parallel with common nouns. The declensional paradigms for the two exceptional pronouns are presented in the table shown above.

<sup>1</sup>Some speakers have regularised this paradigm by back-forming a nominative case from the stem of the objective case. This variant ngaliyampurru is then declined regularly like a proper noun (see O'Grady and others 1966:92). However, not all speakers will accept it, and thus the form is best avoided.

<sup>2</sup>The 'm' in the plural suffix -mpurru has been deleted by morphophonemic rule (see 2.2.12).

<sup>3</sup>It is interesting to note that, while nhaa and ngunhaa decline differently, they take the same classifier -na. The situation may be explained in the following manner: Nhaa and ngunhaa really belong to the same class. This class is marked by -na and it consists of a small number of pronouns, which do not decline. Cf. ngunhthaa(na). But nhaa has a bound variant nhu-, which belongs to the anti-retroflex class, while ngunhaa has two complementary bound variants, both of which belong to the retroflex class. These bound variants serve as oblique stems.

#### 3.1.2.1.4. Relationship to Nouns

From the preceding discussions, the reader may well conclude that personal pronouns more or less resemble nouns<sup>1</sup> except that they often manifest irregularities in inflecting for case and number. This is essentially true. However, there are other differences as well. For example, while nouns, which are the direct object of a verb, may appear in the nominative case, first and second person pronouns cannot.<sup>2</sup> Also, it is very rare to find the singular form of any personal pronoun substituting for a dual<sup>3</sup> or plural,<sup>4</sup> although it is very common to find nouns doing so.

#### 3.1.2.2. Interrogative, Indefinite and Relative Pronouns

There are basically only three interrogative pronouns. The first one is *ngana who*, which declines like a proper noun. The second is *ngani what*, which declines like a common noun. It has a bound variant *tha-*, which apparently only occurs in a single construction. The third, which means *which*, consists of two complementary bound-stems, *wanhthi-*, which declines like a proper noun, but has a truncated paradigm, and *wanhtha-*, which declines like a retroflex noun and has an even more abbreviated paradigm. All other required interrogative pronouns are derived from these basic forms through the use of various suffixes, clitics, verbalisers and supplementary nouns. See the table, entitled 'Interrogative Pronouns'. Persons desiring precise morphological analyses of these derived pronouns should consult the Dictionary. Example sentences illustrating the use of interrogative pronouns can be found in 4.2.2.2.

Interrogative pronouns also serve as indefinite pronouns. Thus, *ngana* means *someone*, *anyone* as well as *who*. However, indefinite pronouns are often represented by nothing. For example, consider the following sentence, which was provided by Ken M. Jerrold:

Ngayi mirnu      tyiwakayi murtimaau.  
I      knowing drive-POT motorcar-OBJ  
I know how to drive a motorcar.

<sup>1</sup>Recalling, of course, that a few personal pronouns are indeclineable (see mainly 3.1.3).

<sup>2</sup>Even in imperative sentences (see 4.2.2.3). But note the form that the first person singular pronoun takes in *Ngarluma*, when it inalienably possesses the direct object of a verb in imperative mood (see von Brandenstein 1970:55).

<sup>3</sup>But see Text 76, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

<sup>4</sup>But note how the narrator changes from *nyintauu* to *nyinta* about half way through the second paragraph in Text 69.

## Interrogative Pronouns

ngana (PP) <i>who</i> <sup>1</sup>	
ngani (PC) <i>what</i> :	nganingka <i>what for</i> <sup>2</sup> nganinyaa <i>what for</i> nganiwuntharri <i>what for</i> nganiyarnrtu <i>what for</i> nganiaa <i>like what</i> nganimalu <i>what quantity</i> <sup>3</sup> nganiwurtu <i>what kind</i> nganiwayl yurra <i>what time</i> <sup>4</sup> nganima- (VL) <i>do what</i> nganiwarni- (VØ) <i>what happen</i> nganiwarnaaayi <i>why</i> nganiwarninha <i>why</i>
tha- (PC) <i>what</i> :	thampa <i>so what, what about it</i>
wanhthi- (PP) <i>which</i> :	wanhthila <i>where at</i> wanhthilangu <i>where from</i> wanhthinha <i>which one</i> wanhthiwa <i>how do</i> wanhthiwartu <i>which dweller</i>
wanhtha- (PR) <i>which</i> :	wanhtharni <i>where to, which way</i> wanhtharni ngarra <i>how</i> wanhtharta <i>when</i>

<sup>1</sup>I have never heard any derivations from this pronoun except for the ordinary cases, e.g. ngananguyarnrtu *whose*, and ngananha. However, since verbalised forms of the personal pronouns exist, e.g. nhaawarni *this is it* (see Text 77, paragraph 2, sentence 6), I would also expect to hear nganawarni *who is it?*

<sup>2</sup>These first four derived forms do not have exactly the same meaning. See the Dictionary for more information.

<sup>3</sup>Most of my best informants stated that this pronoun means *how many*, but not *how much*. Therefore, they rejected such sentences as Nganimalu pawayi nyinta kanytyaku pakita? *How much water do you have in the bucket?*, insisting that one has to use nganiaa *like what* in place of nganimalu there. However, Cherry Cheedy dissented, saying that nganimalu also means *how much*. She must be correct, since there is no difference between count nouns and mass nouns in Yindjibarndi. See 3.1.1.2.1 and also 3.2.1.1.2.

<sup>4</sup>The answer to the question Nganiwayl yurra? *What time is it?* could be any of the following:

Warruwarrulamu. *First light.*  
 Kanallil. *Dawn.*  
 Yurra karpa. *Sunrise.*  
 Yurra kankarnirri. *Forenoon.*  
 Yurra kankarni. *Noon.*  
 Pirri murnawarni. *Early afternoon.*  
 Ngurra pirliwa. *Late afternoon.*  
 Yurra yuni/tharrwa. *Sunset.*  
 Tharurru. *Sundown.*  
 Warruurraa. *Twilight, last light.*  
 Warru. *Night.*  
 Martuilpill. *Midnight (middle of the night).*

See also section 4.2.1 and Text 23, sentence 1.

Finally, *ngana who* can be employed to translate the English relative pronoun *who* (see 4.2.4.4). I suspect that it may also be the case that *ngani what* can be used to represent the English relative pronouns *which* and *that* in relative clauses in Yindjibarndi.

### 3.1.2.3. Reflexive Pronoun

There is only a single reflexive pronoun. It is *tyarnku self*, which is declined like a common noun. Consider its use in the example shown immediately below:

Ngayi punhthakayi tyarnkuu.  
 I wash-POT self-OBJ  
 I will wash myself.

In the next pair of examples, *tyarnku* is inalienably possessing (see 4.1.1.2) the direct object of the verb.

Ngayi marayi punhthakayi tyarnkuu.  
 I hand-OBJ wash-POT self-OBJ  
 I will wash my hands.

Ngayi nhau tyarnkuu kumpayi pawangka.  
 I look-PRES self-OBJ face-OBJ water-LOC  
 I am looking at my reflection in the water.

It is important to include the reflexive pronoun in such constructions.<sup>1</sup> If it were omitted, the hearer would assume that the object of the verb is different from the subject. For instance, according to Gilbert Bobby, if the reflexive pronoun is deleted from the second example illustrated in this section, then the meaning of the sentence will change to *I will wash someone else's hands*.

### 3.1.3. Indeclineables

The Yindjibarndi language contains a class of words, which resemble nouns, but do not decline. They will accept clitics, but not suffixes. I call these non-inflecting noun-like words 'indeclineables'.

<sup>1</sup>However, *pirringu own* may be substituted for *tyarnku self* in examples like the latter two illustrated in the text. Gilbert Bobby prefers *pirringu* in such constructions, which involve inalienable possession, while others seem to stay with *tyarnku*. See, for example, Hale 1959a:139, but also sentences 3 and 4 in Text 37. The reader should also understand that reflexive sentences like the first two given in the text are generally avoided in Yindjibarndi. The information contained in them would normally be expressed in the form *Ngayi punhthayi* and *Ngayi mara punhthayi*, respectively, with middle verbs replacing the transitive ones. See also 4.2.2.1.



The usual term is 'particle', but this suggests to me a short monomorphemic word, which belongs to a small closed class of similar items. Yet in Yindjibarndi these kinds of words may be polymorphemic due to the fact that they can be produced during the course of inflection or derivation (see 3.3.3). Therefore, I prefer the term 'indeclineable'.

The following is an exhaustive list of monomorphemic indeclineables (particles): *kuyu let, may, mirta not, no,*<sup>1</sup> *muntu and, ngarta still, ngurni simultaneously, parla very, tyarru over and over, waia not straightforwardly, wanta and then, also and yini just.* Note that most of these words correspond to things which would be called adverbs or conjunctions in English.<sup>2</sup> There are also five<sup>3</sup> indeclineable pronouns, namely *ngali you and I, ngaliuu several of us including you,*<sup>4</sup> *nhungku they, these* and *ngunhungku or ngunhaangu they, those* (see also 3.1.2.1.1). Note that all of them are polymorphemic and that none of them ends in a clitic! Evidently, sometime in the past they became arbitrarily reclassified as indeclineables.<sup>5</sup>

#### 3.1.4. Verb Stems

##### 3.1.4.1. Stem Classification

In the following sections we shall discuss a number of ways in which verb stems may be classified.

##### 3.1.4.1.1. Inflectional Classes

There are four conjugational classes among which verb stems are distributed: Ø, L, R and N. These classes are named after the particular stem formative which preceded the attachment of the

<sup>1</sup>The corresponding term in the respect language is *purnan*, which I would assume is also an indeclineable.

<sup>2</sup>But not all English conjunctions and adverbs translate into Yindjibarndi as indeclineables. Take, for example, *but* and *or*, which come out as the common nouns *thampa* and *uu*, respectively, in Yindjibarndi. Regarding adverbs, see the second paragraph in 4.1.2.1.

<sup>3</sup>I am not sure whether I should have included *nhunthaa this place* and *ngunthaa that place* in this list. Both apparently do not decline, but unlike the five listed pronouns, they take a classifier, namely *-na*.

<sup>4</sup>It is true that an objective form for this pronoun occurs in Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 7, but it is obviously an archaism. In contemporary speech it is most definitely impossible to decline this pronoun.

<sup>5</sup>The fact that *ngali* does decline in Ngarluma (see O'Grady and others 1966:97) tends to support this suggestion. See also the preceding footnote for further supportive evidence.

potential mood marker (among others) to member verb stems during Proto-Pama-Nyungan times. For example, verb stems in the  $\emptyset$ -stem class took a  $-\ast\emptyset$  stem formative before the potential mood marker  $-\ast ku$ . In the same manner verb stems belonging to the L, R and N stem classes took  $-\ast l$ ,  $-\ast rr$  and  $-\ast n$ , respectively.

Because of the many changes which occurred throughout the history of the Yindjibarndi language, these stem formatives are often no longer directly isolatable today. For instance, the old potential mood marker has been reinterpreted as a present tense marker. Moreover,  $-\ast ku$  has been deleted from the old  $\emptyset$ -stem class marker, leaving the original  $-\ast\emptyset$  stem formative to represent the present tense at the present time. In reverse fashion the stem formative in the L-stem class potential mood marker  $-\ast lku$  has been deleted by regular sound change (see O'Grady 1966:88), leaving unlenitable  $-ku$  (see 2.2.10) to represent the present tense there. Furthermore, this  $-ku$  has then been generalised to the other two stem classes, that is, R and N. See table entitled 'Inflectional Endings for Verb Stems' in section 3.1.4.2.1.

However, all four conjugational classes are still clearly identifiable, if one considers the imperative mood and past tense markers for each class. The  $\emptyset$ -stem class has  $-ma$  (from  $-\ast\emptyset + -\ast ma$ ) and  $-nha$ , respectively. The L-stem class has  $-nma$  (from  $-\ast l + -\ast ma$ ) and  $-rna$ , while the R-stem class has  $-rnma$  (from  $-\ast rr + -\ast ma$ ) and also  $-rna$ , and the N-stem class  $-nma$  (from  $-\ast n + -\ast ma$ ) and  $-na$  (see 3.1.4.2.1).

All Yindjibarndi verb stems belong to one of the four conjugational classes just described, so that there is no problem with irregular verbs. *See, look* presents a kind of exception to this statement in that it consists of three different but related<sup>1</sup> verb stems (all belonging to the  $\emptyset$ -stem class) which complement each other. The conjugational paradigm is as follows:

PRESENT TENSE	nhau
PAST TENSE	nhaunha
IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT	nhaungu
(DEPENDENT)	nhauyangu
PERFECTIVE ASPECT	nhawaayi
(PASSIVE)	nhauyangaarnu
PROGRESSIVE ASPECT	nhaungumarnu
INFINITIVE ASPECT	nhawaangu
HABITUAL ASPECT	nhaumarta
IMPERATIVE MOOD	nhama
POTENTIAL MOOD	nhawayi
OPTATIVE MOOD	nhauyaa
(PASSIVE)	nhaunyaa
IRREALIS MOOD	nhawayingu

<sup>1</sup>See section 3.1.4.1.3.2.

The dominant stem in the paradigm is clearly *nhau-*. It occurs in all verbal categories except for the imperative mood, which has *nha-*, and the perfective and infinitive aspects and potential and irrealis moods, which have *nhawa-*. Moreover, *nhau-* is evidently expanding its domain at the expense of the other two stems, for it is even possible to say, for example, *nhauma* and *nhauwayi*<sup>1</sup> in place of *nhama* and *nhawayi*, respectively. Finally, *nhau-* is the stem upon which the passive and reciprocal<sup>2</sup> forms are built.

Class membership of particular verb stems is not generally predictable, but there appear to be certain phonological constraints on the distribution of verb stems among the four classes. That is,

N-stems end in *i*.

R-stems end in *a*. Exceptions: *tyianti-* (VR) *pour*, *wanpi-* (VR) *beat*. Verb stems ending in *rra* belong to the R-stem class irrespective of whether this sequence can be identified with the verbaliser *-rra-* (VR) or not. Examples: *ngarurra-* (VR) *claw* (cf. *ngarurr* (NC) *clawing*), *nhaungarra-* (VR) *watch over* (cf. *ngarra* (NC) *view*).

L-stems end in *a* or *u*.

Ø-stems end in *a*, *u* or *i*.

The reader may be interested to know that most Ø-stem verbs seem to be intransitive or middle,<sup>3</sup> and most non-Ø-stem verbs are transitive. However, a large number of Ø-stem verbs are transitive, for example, *winpa-* *chase*, *manyuwarri-* *ask for* and *manku-* *take*.<sup>4</sup> Also, a few non-Ø-stem verbs are intransitive, for example, *pama-* (VL) *get going*. Finally, some Ø-stem verbs may be intransitive or transitive, for example, *karpa-* *rise, go up (something)*, and one or two non-Ø-stem verbs may be transitive or intransitive, for example, *wirtiwirtaa-* (VL) *hang up, be hanging*.

<sup>1</sup>Since it is possible to replace *nhawayi* with *nhauwayi*, it must also be possible to use *nhauwayingu* instead of *nhawayingu*.

<sup>2</sup>The reciprocal form is *nhaumarri-* (VØ) rather than the expected *\*nhauntyarri-* (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.4).

<sup>3</sup>Regarding middle verb stems, see 4.1.2.2.

<sup>4</sup>Note also the ditransitive Ø-stem verb *yungku-* *give*, which can take an indirect as well as a direct object.

### 3.1.4.1.2. Free Stems vs. Bound Stems

There is a division between free stems and bound stems among verb stems just as there is among nouns.

#### 3.1.4.1.2.1. Free Stems

Free verb stems are those like *tyanti-* (VØ) *cough*, *munytyu-* (VL) *swallow*, *munta-* (VR) *take away from* and *kanpi-* (VN) *yandy*. Once an inflectional ending is added, they can stand alone.

#### 3.1.4.1.2.2. Bound Stems

Bound verb stems, unlike free ones, cannot stand by themselves - with or without inflectional endings - until they have been attached to a noun. Bound verb stems are of two kinds, productive and unproductive.

##### 3.1.4.1.2.2.1. Unproductive Stems

There are a very small number of unproductive bound verb stems in Yindjibarndi. Consider the examples given below which constitute an exhaustive list - or nearly so:

- karra- (VR) *have* in *yurluwarra-* (VR) *have nothing*,  
cf. *yurlu* (NC) *nothing*, *kanytya-* (VL) *have*,  
-karlaa (S) *having*, -rra- (VR) FACTITIVE VERBALISER
- ungka- (VL) *blow* in *wuthurrungka-* (VL) *blow water out of the mouth in a spray*, cf. *Ngarluma wullurpuyungka-* (VL) *blow water out the mouth in a spray*, *puyungka-* (VL) *blow*
- wanytyi- (VØ) *become detached* in *kaarrwanytyi-* (VØ) *slip*, cf. *wanytarri-* (VØ) *become detached*, also *Ngarluma kararrwanytyarri-* (VØ) *slip*, *kararr* (NC) *tight*

##### 3.1.4.1.2.2.2. Productive Stems

There are a fair number of productive bound verb stems, which are here called 'verbalisers'. There are essentially four categories of verbaliser: factitive, inchoative, causative and reciprocal.<sup>1</sup> All known verbalisers are listed below by category together with illustrative examples of their use:

<sup>1</sup>Thanks to Jeffrey Heath for discussing the use of these terms with me.

### 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.1. Factitive Verbalisers

Factitive verbalisers are those verbalisers which generally<sup>1</sup> transform nouns into transitive verb stems. A number of them appear to be reflexes of archaic monosyllabic verb stems (see also 3.1.4.1.3.2). Compare, for example, -ma- (VL) and -ka- (VL) with Ngayimbaa ma- (VL) *make, do* and ka- (VL) *be* (Donaldson 1977:185). Also compare -yhu- (VL) with Pailgu thuna- (VØ) *put*, the latter evidently being the reflex of the past tense of \*thu- (VN)<sup>2</sup> *put* (O'Grady 1966:77, 80, 116).

-ma- (VL) *make, do*: This verbaliser is the one used most frequently in the production of transitive verb stems:

- kutama- (VL) *shorten*, kuta (NC) *short*
- wanarrama- (VL) *lengthen*, wanarra (NC) *long*
- mulimulima- (VL) *spin*, mulimuli (NC) *around and around*
- kuthanyma- (VL) *squash*, kuthany (NC) *squashed*
- mankarrma- (VL) *tighten*, mankarr (NC) *tight*
- warrkama- (VL) *work on*, warrkam, oblique stem warrkamu- (NC) *work*<sup>3</sup>
- pima- (VL) CAUSATIVE VERBALISER, -pi (S) *sticking out, manifest*

-rni- (VØ): -rni- means the same as -ma-. It is the preferred verbaliser for borrowed English nouns, which have come into Yindjibarndi with the pidgin English ending -am(u)-. For example:

- payilamarni- (VØ) *boil*, payilam, oblique stem payilamu- (NC) *boil*
- warrkamarni- (VØ) *work on*, warrkam, oblique stem warrkamu- (NC) *work*

Note the regular morphophonemic change which accompanies this verbaliser: the final u in the oblique stem of the noun to which it is being attached is replaced by a (see 2.2.8).

<sup>1</sup>There are a few exceptions. For example, note murtima- (VL) *go fast, speed*, which derives from murti (NC) *fast* plus -ma- (VL) FACTITIVE VERBALISER.

<sup>2</sup>Remember that in Yindjibarndi N-stems do not end in u (see 3.1.4.1.1).

<sup>3</sup>See section 2.2.3.

-ka- (VL) *make be, do be*: This verbaliser is a passive transitive form of -ma-.<sup>1</sup> Consider the following examples in which it occurs:

- katyartaa- (VL) *tickle*, katyarta (NC) *tickly*  
 minytyuwa- (VL) *point at*, minytyu (NC) *pistol*  
 parpaa- (VL) *massage*, cf. Ngarluma paripa *slapping sound*  
 wirtiwirtaa- (VL) *hang*, wirtiwirtti (NC) *hanging*

-ra- (VR): -ra- is a variant of the preceding verbaliser, which occurs in environments that call for a retroflex consonant:

- pirriwirraa- (VR) *scale (fish)*, pirra (NC) *rough outer covering*, note also pirrapirra (NC) *shell*  
 -yirraa- (VR) CAUSATIVE VERBALISER, -tyirri (S) *sticking out, manifest*, cf. also Ngarluma -tyirrima- (VL) CAUSATIVE VERBALISER<sup>2</sup>  
 -rnaarnu (S) PASSIVE PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER, cf.  
 -rnumarnu (S) ACTIVE PROGRESSIVE ASPECT MARKER,  
 -rnu (S) ACTIVE IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER

-rra- (VR): This is another variant, which seems to occur in environments that require rr:<sup>3</sup>

- ngarurra- (VR) *claw*, ngarurr (NC) *clawing*  
 waarra- (VR) *track down, hunt*, cf. waarri- (VØ) *search for*, Ngarluma waka- (VØ) *go*  
 yarra- (VR) *chase*, cf. Proto-Pama-Nyungan \*ya- (VN) *go*

The apparent association of this verbaliser with foot movement must be fortuitous.

-tya- (VL): Still another variant. This one is always<sup>4</sup> preceded by the preparatory suffix -ny:

<sup>1</sup>In order to grasp the veracity of this assertion see below under -ra- (VR) and also in section 3.1.4.1.3.4.

<sup>2</sup>The fact that Ngarluma -ma- (VL) corresponds to Yindjibarndi -ra- (VR) in this particular example suggests that the final vowel in the verb stem *nhaungarra-* (VR) *look after* is long, because the Ngarluma version is *nhakungarrama-* (VL). However, Gilbert Bobby assures me that it is short.

<sup>3</sup>Compare the distribution of -rri- (VØ), which is illustrated in the next section.

<sup>4</sup>This characteristic helps us to identify certain verb stems like *parnrta-* (VL) *find* as borrowings. Cf. Yindjibarndi *parnrta-* (VN). Consider also the following pair of verb stems: Kurrama *kuwartaya-* (VL), Yindjibarndi *kuwartayi-* (VN) *urinate*.

- kanytya- (VL) *have*, cf. -karlaa (S) *having*  
 kurkanytya- (VL) *think*, kurka (NC) *ear*<sup>1</sup>  
 purlunytya- (VL) *nod*, cf. purlumarri (NC) *face-to-face*  
 tyalinytya- (VL) *suck on*, cf. Ngarluma thaliwaru  
 (NC) *blue-tongue (lizard)*, waru *dark-coloured*

Note its use in connection with body parts or perhaps more generally with one's person.

-yhu- (VL) *put at or on*: This verbaliser seems to be most closely related to -ka-. However, unlike -ka-, it contains a built-in locative component.<sup>2</sup> Study closely the following examples, especially the last:<sup>3</sup>

- maluyhu- (VL) *cast a spell on*, malu (NC) *shade, shadow*,  
 cf. also Marduthunira malungu *kind of evil spirit*  
 pirtuyhu- (VL) *blow on*, partu (NC) *chest*  
 purluyhu- (VL) *have a look at*, cf. purlumarri *face-to-face*  
 puuyhu- (VL) *smoke*, cf. Pailgu puyu *smoke*, cf. also  
 Yindjibarndi purrkurnrtaa- (VL) *smoke*,<sup>4</sup>  
 purrkurnrta *smoke* (LOC), purrkurn (NC)  
*close smoke*

-pi- (VN) *stick out, pull off*: This verbaliser is obviously related to the suffix -pi *sticking out*. Note the following examples in which it occurs:

- mutyaw-i- (VN) *stick one's nose out (like a poisoned fish)*,  
 mutha (NC) *nose*  
 partuw-i- (VN) *pluck (a bird)*, partu (NC) *feather*  
 purtatpi- (VN) *can't do*, purtat (NC) *can't*  
 wantyaw-i- (VN) *take off, pull off, detach*, cf. wantyarri-  
 (VØ) *come off*

<sup>1</sup>See Dixon 1972:30.

<sup>2</sup>But see also 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.3 where -yhu- appears to include the semantic element *manifest*.

<sup>3</sup>Note also the following example in which the locative component is made very apparent: minkayhu- (VL) *raise*, cf. minkaama- (VL) *lift*, minka *above*, minka *top*. Unfortunately, the relationship of -yhu- to -ka- is obfuscated by the 'back-to-front' meaning of minka. In this regard notice how minka means *at the top* instead of *the top is at something*, which one would expect the reversing -ra locative suffix to produce (see 3.1.1.2.2.1).

<sup>4</sup>But be sure to see 3.1.4.1.3.4 for numerous similar examples.

-yi- (VN) *shoot out, expel*: The function of this verbaliser is transparent:

- kunayi- (VN) *defecate*, kuna (NC) *faeces*
- kuwartayi- (VN) *urinate*, kuwarta (NC) *urine*
- parnrtaiyi- (VN) *find*, cf. Kurrama parnrtaiya- (VL)
- thuwayi- (VN) *spear by throwing*, cf. Nyamal thuwa- (V)

### 3.1.4.1.2.2.2. Inchoative Verbalisers

Inchoative verbalisers are those verbalisers which are generally<sup>1</sup> employed in the production of intransitive verb stems.<sup>2</sup> The reader should note that such verb stems can have a stative as well as inchoative function.<sup>3</sup> A complete list<sup>4</sup> of inchoative verbalisers is presented below.<sup>5</sup>

-warni- (VØ): This is the basic inchoative verbaliser which is used with nouns<sup>6</sup> of two morae length,<sup>7</sup> ending in a vowel or rr. Relevant examples are as follows:

- kutawarni- (VØ) *shrink*, kuta (NC) *short*
- kurluwarni- (VØ) *get warm*, kurlu (NC) *warm*
- nyurnrtiwarni- (VØ) *die*, nyurnrti (NC) *dead*
- mankarrwarni- (VØ) *get hard*, mankarr (NC) *hard*

<sup>1</sup>However, sometimes inchoative verbalisers give rise to transitive verb stems. For example, consider wirtirri- (VØ) *climb* (cf. wirta *leg*, Marduthunira wirta- (VØ) *climb*).

<sup>2</sup>In reference to middle verb stems, see section 4.1.2.2.

<sup>3</sup>For example, consider the meaning of tyiniyarri in Text 49, sentences 1, 7 and 8, of waarri in Text 61, sentence 9, and of nhaawarni in Text 77, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

<sup>4</sup>Note, however, that -rarri- (VØ) is buried in a footnote, because it is evidently only used in conjunction with a certain locative suffix (see 3.1.4.1.3.4).

<sup>5</sup>The reader will probably notice that a number of disyllabic verbalisers appear to consist of a factitive verbaliser plus the inchoative verbaliser -rri-. However, the distributions of these apparently derived inchoative verbalisers do not always match that of the factitive verbalisers from which they appear to be derived. Therefore, such inchoative verbalisers are described without reference to factitive verbalisers. Also, it is possible that certain inchoative verbalisers are derived from free verb stems. For example, compare karri- (VØ) *be, stand* with -karri- (VØ).

<sup>6</sup>-warni- is also used with pronouns. See nhaawarni- (VØ), nyintawarni- (VØ) and nganiwarni- (VØ) in the Dictionary.

<sup>7</sup>That is, consisting of two syllables, each containing one short vowel, or of a single syllable, containing a long vowel. For an example involving the latter case, see the preceding footnote.



wararrwarni- (VØ) *tease*, wararr (NC) *teasing*  
 yintyirrwarni- (VØ) *become cruel*, yintyirr (NC) *cruel*

-rri- (VØ): This variant occurs with nouns of more than two morae which end in a vowel:

kutaparri- (VØ) *shrink*, kutapa (NP) *short*  
 warrkamurri- (VØ) *be working*, warrkam, oblique stem  
                   warrkamu- (NC) *work*  
 yarrwatharri- (VØ) *sweat*, yarrwatha (NC) *sweat*  
 yirriri- (VØ) *get sick*, yirriri (NC) *sick*  
 muiimulirri- (VØ) *go around and around*,  
                   muiimuli (NC) *around and around*

However, a number of nouns which are only two morae long, but end in C plus a short vowel, where C is a laminal consonant, rt or k, also take -rri-:

patharri- (VØ) *be painted*, pathama- (VL) *paint*  
 wayharri- (VØ) *look for*, wayha (NC) *leg*  
 tyiyarri- (VØ) *wait*  
 thartarri- (VØ) *get covered*, tharta (NC) *covered*  
 wirtirri- (VØ) *climb*, wirta (NC) *leg*<sup>1</sup>  
 wankarri- (VØ) *come alive*, wanka (NC) *alive*

Monosyllabic nouns with the same underlying structure seem to follow this pattern as well:<sup>2</sup>

waarri- (VØ) *get scared*, waa (NC) *frightened* (cf. Ngarluma  
                   waya *frightened*)  
 waarri- (VØ) *look for*, cf. Ngarluma waka- (VØ) *go*

-ri- (VØ): This is a form of -rri-, which is used with nouns, trimoraic or longer, ending in rr plus a short vowel:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>One might expect that wirta would take -karri- (see below) as a verbaliser. Perhaps wirtirri- might be better understood as a derivation from a verbalised form, cf. Marduthunira wirta- (VØ) *climb*. Here compare tyaama- (VØ), tyaamarri- (VØ) *yawn*.

<sup>2</sup>Note, however, that the Ngarluma synonym for waarri- (VØ) *get scared*, which constitutes the first example immediately below, is wayakarri- (VØ).

<sup>3</sup>See 2.1.2.3.

- wanarrari- (VØ) *get long*, wanarra (NC) *long*  
 nyutyuwirri- (VØ) *get soft*, nyutyuwirri (NC) *soft*  
 parrawarrari- (VØ) *shiver*, parrawarra (NC) *shiver*  
 yirtinykarrari- (VØ) *line up*, yirtinykarra (NC) *lined up*  
 -parriri- (VØ) *run out of*, cf. Pandjima  
 -pati (S) *without*

-tyarri- (VØ): Another variant which is used with nouns, ending in a consonant other than rr, irrespective of length:

- yilintyarri- (VØ) *get thin*, yilin (NC) *thin*  
 kutharntyarri- (VØ) *grow weary*, kutharn (NC) *weary*  
 karlinytyarri- (VØ) *return*, karliny (NC) *returning*  
 mirnattyarri- (VØ) *get ready*, mirnat (NC) *ready*  
 wirrarttyarri- (VØ) *feel like*, wirrart (NC) *feelings*<sup>1</sup>  
 kangkatyarri- (VØ) *come loose*, kangkaty (NC) *loose*

-karri- (VØ): This inchoative verbaliser is employed with nouns which describe physical activities, concerning the body:<sup>2</sup>

- muurnkarri- (VØ) *hum*, muurn (NC) *humming*  
 ngayinykarri- (VØ) *breathe*, ngayiny (NC) *breath*  
 ngurtuwarri- (VØ) *have diarrhoea*, ngurtu (NC) *diarrhoea*  
 thumpurtankarri- (VØ) *turn a somersault*, thumpurtan (NC) *somersault*  
 yakayinykarri- (VØ) *call out in pain*, yakayi (NC) *ouch*<sup>3</sup>  
 -ny (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX  
 yuwakarri- (VØ) *become seductive*, yuwa (NC) *seduction*

-rrari- (VØ): This is a variant of -karri-, which is used with certain<sup>4</sup> nouns, ending in rr:

- karntarrari- (VØ) *burp*, karntarr (NC) *burp*  
 nguthurrari- (VØ) *snore*, nguthurr (NC) *snoring*

<sup>1</sup>It is not clear to me why wirrart does not take -nguli- (see below) as a verbaliser. Perhaps -nguli- may not be attached to nouns ending in a consonant.

<sup>2</sup>But note that the inchoative form of kupitya *small* is kupityaarri-, evidently from kupitya + -karri-. Kupitya does not take -rri- as a verbaliser, apparently because the plural of kupitya is kupiyarri.

<sup>3</sup>A derivational suffix is added to yakayi before -karri- is attached, apparently because -karri- cannot follow i. Compare -karra (S) in 3.2.1.1.2.

<sup>4</sup>Other such nouns ending in rr take a locative suffix (-rru) followed by a different inchoative verbaliser, namely -rarri-. See 3.1.4.1.3.4.

-nguli- (VØ): This particular inchoative<sup>1</sup> verbaliser is generally used with nouns which describe non-physical body states:<sup>2</sup>

kamunguli- (VØ) *get hungry*, kamu (NC) *vegetable*,

cf. kamungu (NC) *hungry*

muyhunguli- (VØ) *get cold*, muyhu (NC) *the cold, winter*,

cf. muyhumuyhu (NC) *cold, not warm*<sup>3</sup>

pampanguli- (VØ) *get sleepy*, pampa (NC) *sleep*,

cf. pampangurru (NC) *sleepy*

punhanguli- (VØ) *get randy*, punha (NC) *sexual desire*,

cf. punhamali (NC) *randy*

Note how these verbs are all based on the nouns describing the states rather than on the adjectives which are derived from them:<sup>4</sup>

#### 3.1.4.1.2.2.3. Causative Verbalisers

There are essentially two causative verbalisers, -pima- (VL) and -yirraa- (VR).<sup>5</sup> The first is used in conjunction with nouns:

purrkurnpima- (VL) *puff on*, purrkurn (NC) *smoke*

ngurnrtirriwima- (VL) *start (an internal combustion engine)*,

ngurnrtirri (NC) *putt-putt*

wangkawima- (VL) *make someone talk*, wangka (NC) *speech*

The second is employed with Ø-stem verbs:<sup>6</sup>

karpayirraa- (VR) *cause something to rise*, karpa- (VØ) *rise*

karriirraa- (VR) *make someone stand up*, karri- (VØ) *stand*

nyimpayirraa- (VR) *startle*, nyimpa- (VØ) *give a start*

parniirraa- (VR) *set something down*, parni- (VØ) *sit*

wangkayirraa- (VR) *make someone talk*, wangka- (VØ) *talk*

<sup>1</sup>This verbaliser also acts as a passiviser for transitive verb stems (see 4.2.3).

<sup>2</sup>-nguli- is also used with palin (NC) *mirage*. See the Dictionary.

<sup>3</sup>The inchoative forms of this and the preceding noun are respectively muyhumuyhurri- (VØ) *get cold (in reference to inanimate objects)* and muyhuwarni- (VØ) *get to be winter*.

<sup>4</sup>However, Gilbert Bobby said that it is possible, for example, to say punhamalirri *get randy* in place of punhanguli.

<sup>5</sup>On the internal structure of these two verbalisers see section 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.1 under -ma- (VL) and -ra- (VR), respectively.

<sup>6</sup>Note how passivising -ra- replaces -ma- in the causative verbaliser which is employed in this environment (see preceding footnote).

However, the factitive verbaliser -yhu- (VL) may also be used as a causative verbaliser in place of -yirraa-:

- karpayhu- (VL) *raise*, karpa- (VØ) *rise*  
 ngarriyhu- (VL) *lay*, ngarri- (VØ) *lie*  
 parniyhu- (VL) *set*, parni- (VØ) *sit*

Note that there are no causative verbalisers for non-Ø-stem verbs. In order to express causation with such verb stems, an infinitive construction must be employed. See the last example in 4.2.4.2.3.

### 3.1.4.1.2.2.4. Collective/Reciprocal Verbalisers

-marri- (VØ): This form occurs with nouns and Ø-stem verbs, where it usually means either *together* or *with one another (each other)*.<sup>1</sup> The following examples involve nouns, both free and bound:

- kumamarri- (VØ) *come together*, kuma *together*  
 mayumarri- (VØ) *make peace with one another*, mayu (NC) *calm, not angry*  
 nguntamarri- (VØ) *dance together or with one another*,  
 ngunta (NC) *corroboree*  
 payamarri- (VØ) *argue together, quarrel with one another*,  
 paya (NC) *aggression*  
 wantamarri- (VØ) *take leave of one another*, cf. wantama-  
 (VL) *separate*

Here are some examples incorporating Ø-stem verbs:

- karpamarri- (VØ) *get up together*, karpa- (VØ) *rise*  
 ngarrkumarri- (VØ) *eat together or with each other*,  
 ngarrku- (VØ) *eat*  
 parnimarri- (VØ) *sit together or with each other*,  
 parni- (VØ) *sit*

-nytyarri- (VØ): This variant is employed with transitive Ø-stem verbs, ending in *i* and *u*. Like all the variants that follow, it never means *together* or *with each other*.<sup>2</sup> Consider the examples listed immediately below.

<sup>1</sup>It is true that in the construction *nhaumarri- (VØ) look at each other*, -marri- does not mean *together* or *with each other*. However, the Yindjibarndi verb stem meaning *see, look at* is irregular anyway (see 3.1.4.1.1).

<sup>2</sup>At least as far as I can tell. It is, of course, possible to translate *wangkayinytyarri- (VØ)* as *talk together* (see below in the text under -yinytyarri-). But by *talk together* one obviously does not mean *speak in unison*. I have never received an intransitive L, R or N-stem verb with a collective/reciprocal verbaliser attached.

wanyarrinytyarri- (VØ) *listen to each other*, wanyaarri-  
 (VØ) *hear, listen to*  
 yungkunytyarri- (VØ) *pass something back and forth*,  
 yungku- (VØ) *give*

-yinytyarri- (VØ): This is an augmented form of the preceding variant, which is used with Ø-stem verbs ending in a:

wangkayinytyarri- (VØ) *converse*, wangka- (VØ) *speak*

-nmarri- (VØ): A variant used with L- and N-stem verbs:

mirnumanmarri- (VØ) *teach each other*, mirnuma- (VL) *teach*  
 pirninmarri- (VØ) *swear at each other*, pirni- (VN) *swear*  
 waayhunmarri- (VØ) *say goodbye to each other*, waayhu- (VL)  
*say goodbye*

-rnmarri- (VØ): The variant used with R-stems:

muntarnmarri- (VØ) *take things away from one another*,  
 munta- (VR) *take away from*  
 wanpirnmarri- (VØ) *beat each other*, wanpi- (VR) *beat*

### 3.1.4.1.3. Internal Structure

In the next several sections we shall discuss the various types of internal structures found among verb stems in Yindjibarndi.

#### 3.1.4.1.3.1. Single Morpheme

There are a number of simple (monomorphemic) verb stems in Yindjibarndi, e.g. pani- (VN) *grind* (cf. Nyangumarda pani *seed*). However, as with nouns, it is dangerous to assume that a short stem is necessarily simple. If one considers, for example, the verb stems thani- (VN) *chop*, yarra- (VR) *chase* and kanytya- (VL) *have*, he will find that the first consists of a monosyllabic bound noun plus derivational suffix, which has been verbalised, the second of a monosyllabic bound stem plus verbaliser, while the third contains the root ka- (NC) *have* plus a derivational suffix -ny, followed by the factitive verbaliser -tya- (VL).<sup>1</sup> Thus, even disyllabic verb stems can have a relatively complex internal structure.

<sup>1</sup>Further reference to the internal structure of these three verb stems is made in the next section in the text.

3.1.4.1.3.2. Reflexes of Proto-Ngayardic Monosyllabic Verb Stems<sup>1</sup>

Yindjibarndi does not permit monosyllabic verb stems of one mora length.<sup>2</sup> Such verb stems, which once existed in Proto-Ngayardic, were either augmented or lost.<sup>3</sup> The survivors were augmented in a number of ways. Ordinarily, the old present tense - and sometimes the past tense as well - was adopted as a new  $\emptyset$ -stem verb. Rarely were these tense forms assigned to a different class or implemented with a factitive verbaliser. Otherwise, the old verb stem was nominalised, then augmented with a suffix and finally verbalised directly or with a verbaliser. In the latter event, the suffix might even be omitted. Below is a list of archaic monosyllabic verb stems which have been converted by the methods just described:<sup>4</sup>

\*ka- (VL) *have*: kanytya- (VL) *have*<sup>5</sup> < \*ka- (NC) *have* + \*-ny (S)  
+ \*-tya- (VL), cf. Nyangumarda ka- (VL) *have*

\*ka- (VNG) *carry*: karpa- (VL) *carry*<sup>6</sup> < \*ka- (NC) *carry* + \*-rɪ  
(S) + \*-wa (S), cf. Nyangumarda ka- (VNG) *carry*

\*ma- (VN) *grab*: manku- (V $\emptyset$ ) *grab* < \*manku *grabs*, high language  
mana- (V $\emptyset$ ) *grab* < \*mana *grabbed*

\*nga- (VL) *eat*: ngarrku- (V $\emptyset$ ) *eat* < \*ngalku *eats*,<sup>7</sup> cf. Pandjima  
ngarna- (V $\emptyset$ ) *consume* < \*ngarna *ate*

\*nha- (V $\emptyset$ ) *see*: nhau- (V $\emptyset$ ) *see* < \*nhaku *sees*, nhawa- (V $\emptyset$ ) *see* <  
\*nha- (NC) + \*-wa (S), nha- (V $\emptyset$ ) *see* < \*nha- (V $\emptyset$ ) *see*,  
cf. Tharkari nhanya- (V) *see* < \*nhanha *saw*

<sup>1</sup>This section is largely based on O'Grady's (1966:77) earlier discussion.

<sup>2</sup>A short vowel counts as one mora, a long one as two.

<sup>3</sup>The only certain exception to this statement occurs in connection with *see*, *look* and even here the exception is only a partial one. A monosyllabic verb stem of one mora length remains in the imperative mood and only there (see 3.1.4.1.1). However, it is also possible that certain factitive verbalisers (productive bound verb stems) were once monosyllabic free verb stems in Proto-Ngayardic (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.1).

<sup>4</sup>Putative additions include \*mi- (VL) *know* (but see the Dictionary) and \*ma- (VNY) *ask for* (see Hudson 1978:43). Mirnu (NC) *knowing*, *clever* and manyu (NC) *ask(ing) for*, which are often employed as verbs in sentences, may be reflexes of their active imperfective aspects.

<sup>5</sup>Compare yurluwarra- (VR) *have nothing* (see the Dictionary).

<sup>6</sup>Cf. karpa- (V $\emptyset$ ) *rise*.

<sup>7</sup>l has been lenited to rr here rather than  $\emptyset$ , because the preceding morpheme boundary is not productive (see O'Grady 1966:88).

- \*tha- (VL) *hit*: thani- (VN) *chop* < \*tha- (NC) *hit* + \*-ni (S),  
cf. Kurrama thani- (VØ) *hit*, Ngarluma thaiku- (VØ) *hit* <  
\*thaiku *hits*
- \*thu- (VØ) *spear*: thuu- (VL) *spear* < \*thuku *spears*, thuwayi-  
(VN) \*thu- (NC) *spear* + \*-wa (S) + \*-tyi- (VN), cf. Nyamal  
thuwa- (V) *spear*, Ngiyambaa thu- (VR) *spear*<sup>1</sup>
- \*ya- (VN) *go*: yarra- (VR) *chase* < \*ya- (NC) *go* + \*-rra- (VR),  
cf. Kurrama yanki- (VØ) *go* < \*yanku *goes*, Pailgu yana-  
(VØ) *go* < \*yana *went*
- \*yu- (VNG) *give*: yungku- (VØ) *give* < \*yungku *gives*, high  
language yunayi- (VN) *give* (apparently) < \*yunya *gave*  
+ \*-tyi- (VN), cf. Pandjima, Pailgu yinya- (VØ) *give*<sup>2</sup>

### 3.1.4.1.3.3. Noun Plus Verb Stem

There are not many verb stems in Yindjibarndi which consist of a noun joined to a free verb stem, but note the two examples listed below:

partuwankama- (VL) *revive someone whose head has been  
screwed, using the feather of an eaglehawk,*  
partu (NC) *feather*, wankama- (VL) *bring  
to life*

kuriwaartarri- (VØ) *circle back*, nguri (NC) *circle*, high  
language waartarri- (VØ) *go back*

For examples containing bound verb stems, see below 3.1.4.1.2.2.

### 3.1.4.1.3.4. Noun Plus Suffix Plus Verbaliser

The Yindjibarndi language contains quite a number of verb stems which are built according to the formula, noun plus suffix plus inchoative or factitive verbaliser. The suffixes involved are most importantly the locative case markers, but also include the proprietive and allocative suffix as well as a bound form of the privative suffix and -pi, a suffix meaning *sticking out* or *manifest(ed)*.

<sup>1</sup>Despite the fact that thu- belongs to the R-stem class in Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1977:185), it must have been a Ø-stem in Proto-Ngayardic as Ngarluma also preserves the old Ø-stem present tense in thukutha- (VL) *spear*. It may be significant that in Yindjibarndi no verb stems ending in u belong to the R-stem class (see 3.1.4.1.1).

<sup>2</sup>On the change of u to i, see section 2.2.7.

Note that in all the examples that follow the verbalisers are attached to the nominal derivations in a regular fashion, according to the rules outlined in 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.1 and 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.2.

Let us look at structures incorporating inchoative verbalisers, the first of which are derivations built on the various locative case markers (see below 3.1.1.2.2):

With -ngka: kanangkarri- (VØ) *come, appear*,<sup>1</sup> kanangka *in the clearing*, kana (NC) *clear*

katangkarri- (VØ) *get down*, katangka *down*, karta (NC) *the down, lowlands*

martungkarri- (VØ) *take one's place*, martungka *in place*, martu (NC) *space, place*

piningkarri- (VØ) *run*,<sup>2</sup> piningka *at speed*, pini (NC) *fast*

thangkawarni- (VØ) *get hooked in*, thangka *hooked in*

thurnungkarri- (VØ) *get inside*, thurnungka *inside*, thurnu (NC) *the interior*

With -la: kankalarri- (VØ) *get up*, kankala *above, at the top*, kanka (NC) *top*

purrkurnrtaarri- (VØ) *be smoking*,<sup>3</sup> purrkurnrtaa- (VL) *smoke*, purrkurn (NC) *close smoke*

nyirrkurnrtaarri- (VØ) *burp*,<sup>4</sup> nyirrkurn (NC) *burp*, -karri- (VØ)

With -ra; high language minkaarri- (VØ) *get up*, minkaa *above, at the top*, minka *top*

<sup>1</sup>Cf. pangkarri- (VØ) *go*.

<sup>2</sup>It is also possible to say murtinkarri- (VØ); but people just don't use this form. On the other hand, murti (NC) *fast* is strongly preferred over pini.

<sup>3</sup>This verb stem is an intransitive one, being derived from the transitive verb stem which follows it, using the inchoative verbaliser -rri- (VØ). Such derivations are not common, but compare ngatha- (VL) and ngatharri- (VØ) and also see the Dictionary. Compare tyaama- (VØ) and tyaamarri- (VØ) as well.

<sup>4</sup>Note that this verb stem is constructed differently from the one presented immediately above, which it superficially resembles. Here the locative form of the noun is verbalised directly by the inchoative verbaliser -karri- (VØ).



With -rru: kantylrraarri- (VØ) *sneeze*,<sup>1</sup> kantyirr (NC) *sneeze*,  
-rarri- (VØ)<sup>2</sup>

nguurraarri- (VØ) *snarl*, nguurr (NC) *snarl*

thumpirraarri- (VØ) *fart*, thumpirr (NC) *fart*

With -yu:<sup>3</sup> wuluyurri- (VØ) *get to be in the west*, wuluyu  
*in the west*

With -rni: tyingkarnirri- (VØ) *emerge*, tynkgarni *from the*  
*interior, from upstream*

tyuntunirri- (VØ) *walk around this way*, tyuntuni  
*around this way*, tyuntu (NC) *way*

The derivations which are listed next contain the proprietive suffix  
-karlaa (see 3.2.1.1.1), which means *having*:<sup>4</sup>

partuwarlaarri- (VØ) *sprout feathers*, partu (NC) *feather*

tyimpuwarlaarri- (VØ) *become egg-laden*, tyimpu (NC) *egg*

yurruurkarlaarri- (VØ) *grow hair or fur*, yurruur (NC)  
*hair, fur*

At this point it might be interesting to compare the use of the  
privative suffix in parallel constructions. The productive form of  
this suffix is -parrimarta *without*, but when verbalised, it drops the  
last two syllables, becoming -parriri- (VØ) *run out of*. Consider the  
following construction in which it appears:

pirnrtuarriri- (VØ) *run out of food*, pirnrtu (NC) *food*

wirrartparriri- (VØ) *get sick of*, wirrart (NC) *feelings*

<sup>1</sup>Compare Ngarluma kanytyirra- (VØ). The correspondence Yindjibarndi -rraarri- (VØ) = Ngarluma -ma- (VØ) is carried through the next two examples. Cf. Ngarluma ngu[w]urra- (VØ) and thumpirra- (VØ), respectively. But note also Yindjibarndi karnrtarriri- (VØ) *burp*, Ngarluma karnrtarra- (VØ) and Yindjibarndi ngayinykarri- (VØ) *breathe*, Ngarluma ngayinyma- (VØ). Locative -rru shows up in Ngarluma ngunthurruma- (VØ) *snore* (see Hale 1960:270). Compare Yindjibarndi nguthurrari- (VØ).

<sup>2</sup>This verbaliser appears to occur only after the allative locative case marker -rru.

<sup>3</sup>Unfortunately, I did not receive an example incorporating the other form of the locative case marker which occurs with compass points, namely -t. However, if such an example is found, it will contain the inchoative verbaliser -tyarri- (VØ).

<sup>4</sup>For some reason the verb stem meaning *bear fruit*, which is purlaalarri- (VØ), does not contain this suffix (cf. purlaala (NC) *fruit*). Purlaalarri- is constructed like yarrwatharri- (VØ) *sweat*.



With -la: mawarnrtaa- (VL) *put magic power into something*,  
 mawarn (NC) *magic power*  
 yawantaa- (VL) *insert cooking stones into something*,  
 yawan (NC) *cooking stone*  
 yathurnrtaa- (VL) *lick*, literally *put the tongue on*,  
 yathurn-, bound form of yathuu (NC) *tongue*  
 (cf. Ngarluma yathuru)

With -ngka: wiyhangkaa- (VL) *spit (on)*, wiyha (NC) *saliva*

With -ra: ngarriwartaa- (VL) *put something in an earth oven*,  
 ngarriwartu (NC) *earth oven*  
 yuwartaa- (VL) *put something in a fireplace*,  
 yuwarta (NC) *fireplace*

Note how the sequence -ra plus -ka- found in the last two examples corresponds to -ngka/-la plus -ma- in those observed in the previous set.<sup>1</sup> This is because -ra is a reverse locative, which is then reversed again by -ka-.

### 3.1.4.2. Tense, Aspect and Mood

In Yindjibarndi there are two tenses, present and past; five aspects, imperfective, perfective, progressive, infinitive and habitual; and four moods, imperative, potential, optative and irrealis. The markers which indicate tense are clitics, while the rest are suffixes (see 3.3.1).

#### 3.1.4.2.1. The Endings, Their Distribution and Internal Structure

In the discussion that follows, please refer to the accompanying table, entitled 'Inflectional Endings for Verb Stems':

<sup>1</sup>In particular, compare the structure and meaning of yuwartaa- (VL) *put something into a fireplace* with those of mirrunkama- (VL) *put something into a woomera*.

## Inflectional Endings for Verb Stems

	Ø	L	R	N
PRESENT	-Ø	-ku	-ku	-ku
PAST	-nha	-rna	-rna	-na
IMPERFECTIVE	-ngu	-rnu	-rnu	-nu
(dependent)	-yangu			
PERFECTIVE	-(a)ayi	-kaayi	-kaayi	-kaayi
(passive)	-yangaarnu	-rnaarnu	-rnaarnu	-naarnu
PROGRESSIVE	-ngumarnu	-rnumarnu	-rnumarnu	-numarnu
INFINITIVE	-(a)angu	-langu	-langu	-langu
HABITUAL	-marta	-nmarta	-rnmarta	-nmarta
IMPERATIVE	-ma	-nma	-rnma	-nma
POTENTIAL	-yi, -wayi	-kayi	-kayi	-kayi
OPTATIVE	-yaa	-tyaa	-tyaa	-tyaa
(passive)	-nyaa	-nnyaa	-rnnnyaa	-nnyaa
IRREALIS	-yingu, -wayingu	-kayingu	-kayingu	-kayingu

PRESENT TENSE: In the present tense there is a basic contrast between Ø-stem verbs, which take -Ø, and all other kinds, which take -ku. This unleniting -ku (see 2.2.10) is a reflex of the Proto-Pama-Nyungan L-stem suffix for potential mood, namely *-\*lku*, which has been generalised to the R and N-stem classes (see O'Grady 1966:76, 80-81). For more discussion on the source of -Ø and -ku see 3.1.4.1.1.

PAST TENSE: The inflectional endings indicating past tense in Yindjibarndi appear to be identical to those that were employed in Proto-Pama-Nyungan.

IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT: These suffixes, excluding -yangu, are evidently reflexes of Proto-Pama-Nyungan perfective aspect markers. The exact same forms indicate completed action in the languages of the Western Desert (see Douglas 1964:101). Moreover, certain languages in Queensland apparently have reflexes of related forms, which are now used as past tense markers. Compare, for example, Yidiny -nyu

(Dixon 1977:204) with Ngarluma -nhu (contrast with -nha PAST TENSE MARKER), a variant of -nguru (= Yindjibarndi -ngu). -yangu is a Yindjibarndi invention, deriving from -ya- (= Thargari -ya DEPENDENT IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER - see Klokeid 1969:45-46) plus -ngu IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER.

PERFECTIVE ASPECT: The active perfective aspect markers were built upon the present tense endings, when the latter were still suffixes. Evidently, to these endings were added -\*ra (= Western Desert IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER) + -\*tyi (= Thargari -tya<sup>1</sup> PAST TENSE MARKER = Western Desert -ntyā). It seems clear then that this construction is connected with the one used to form the past continuative<sup>2</sup> in the Western Desert language (see Douglas 1964:98, 101; O'Grady and others 1966:143-44). The suffix chains underwent historical sound change in Yindjibarndi, giving rise to two aspect markers, namely -(a)ayi and -kaayi. The required change in the final vowel of Ø-stem verbs to a, when -ayi is attached, is an artefact of this historical process (see 2.2.13).

The passive perfective aspect markers are neologisms. The formula which describes their internal structure reads as follows: (DEPENDENT) IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER + -ra- (VR) PASSIVE FACTITIVE VERBALISER + IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER. Compare it with the one used to form the progressive aspect (see immediately below). The fact that the Ø-stem variant is based on the dependent form of the imperfective aspect marker suggests that these suffixes once only occurred in conjunction with verb stems in dependent clauses.

PROGRESSIVE ASPECT: The internal structure of the progressive aspect markers is transparent. It closely resembles that of the passive perfective aspect markers, which are discussed immediately above. The formula is IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER + -ma- (VL) FACTITIVE VERBALISER + IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER.

INFINITIVE ASPECT: The inflectional suffixes for the infinitive aspect are derived from the old mood markers -\*ra and -\*la, which were apparently once used to indicate inceptive action (see Klokeid 1969:39,

<sup>1</sup>Compare Yindjibarndi -yi, Western Desert -ya VOCATIVE SUFFIX and see the latter part of 2.2.7.

<sup>2</sup>The reader will please bear in mind that we have already pointed out that Yindjibarndi imperfective (= continuative) aspect markers are cognate with those which indicate completed action in the Western Desert.

47-48 and Douglas 1964:40). -ngu is, of course, the imperfective aspect marker employed with Ø-stem verbs and hence appropriate for a nominalised verb.

HABITUAL ASPECT: The habitual aspect markers have been derived from -\*marta in the same manner that the imperative mood markers have been derived from -\*ma (see below).

IMPERATIVE MOOD: The imperative mood markers have been derived from the suffix -\*ma. They surely hark back to Proto-Pama-Nyungan times as cognates occur all over Australia. The various forms reflect the addition of the stem formatives -\*Ø, -\*l, -\*rr and -\*n (see 3.1.4.1.1).

POTENTIAL MOOD: The suffix indicating potential mood for Ø-stem verbs ending in a and i is -yi, reducing to -i after the latter vowel (see 2.2.9). The one for those ending in u is -wayi, a lenited form of -\*katyi<sup>1</sup> (= Pandjima, see O'Grady and others 1966:89). The L-stem variant is -kayi, regularly from -\*l + -\*katyi. This same form has been generalised to the two remaining stem classes in parallel with -ku (see discussion under PRESENT TENSE).

OPTATIVE MOOD: In respect of the active forms, -yaa is from -\*tyaku (= Western Desert, see Douglas 1964:101) and -tyaa is from -\*l + -\*tyaku (cf. preceding mood). The passive forms have been derived from -\*nyura (= Ngarluma, see von Brandenstein 1975:54). For details see the relevant discussion under IMPERATIVE MOOD.

IRREALIS MOOD: The various irrealis mood markers are simply potential mood markers to which the Ø-stem imperfective aspect marker -ngu has been added.

### 3.1.4.2.2. Functions

PRESENT TENSE: The present tense has five functions. The first and by far the most basic one is to indicate that an action is going on while the verb to which it refers is being spoken. In this respect the present tense in Yindjibarndi corresponds to the ordinary present progressive or present imperfect in English. This function is so common that there is no need to give references, documenting its use here. The second function of the present tense is to state that an

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Western Desert -kitya (Douglas 1964:99, 101).

action does in fact occur. Here the present tense appears to resemble an aspect, because temporal reference is not clear. The unclarity stems from the fact that the present tense here is describing a perpetual present. For examples illustrating the perpetual present see Texts 3, 5 and 11, and also Text 23, sentence 4 and Text 53, paragraph 1. The third function, which is not a common one, is to act as a continuous imperative, that is, one that means 'keep on doing something'. An example is given in 4.2.2.3.

The fourth function is to give a description of an event which occurred in the past. This function corresponds more or less to the historical present of English. Examples are not uncommon in the more complex Texts. See, for example, Text 50, sentence 1; Text 58, sentence 1; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 1; Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 1; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 13. The fifth and final function of the present tense is to specify the less remote of two past actions which occur in sequence. The present tense in Classical Greek evidently had a similar function. Again, examples are fairly numerous in the more advanced Texts. Note the following: Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 5 and paragraph 2, sentence 3; Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 5; Text 67, paragraph 2, sentences 2 and 3; Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4; Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 3; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

In summing up the functions of the present tense, one might be tempted to describe it as a non-future, a description which might seem somewhat absurd, when the suffixes which represent it are considered in a comparative-historical framework.

**PAST TENSE:** The past tense is used to describe actions belonging to the past without reference as to whether they have been completed or are still going on. See Text 24.

**IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT:** The imperfective aspect is used to describe a continuous action without reference to past, present or future time. The suffixes used to indicate the independent imperfective aspect may occur in either independent clauses or in conjoined clauses in which the subject is identical to that of the main clause. For examples of the first kind see Text 23, sentence 1; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 2; and Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 7. For examples of the second kind see 4.2.4.2.1. When the imperfective aspect occurs in a non-main clause, the subject of which is not the same as that of the main clause, then the dependent imperfective aspect marker is employed,

providing, of course, that the verb belongs to the  $\emptyset$ -stem class (see 4.2.4.2.2, 4.2.4.2.3 and 4.2.7). Non- $\emptyset$ -stem classes do not have a special dependent form for the imperfective aspect marker (see 3.1.4.2.1).

The imperfective aspect marker also has a number of substitute functions. It may replace the dependent imperfective aspect marker and the infinitive aspect marker in verbs which are linked in parallel with another verb which is inflected for dependent imperfective or infinitive aspect (see 4.2.4.2.3). It may also replace the potential mood marker when the latter is functioning as an infinitive, if the leading verb is in the imperfective, perfective or progressive aspect (see 4.2.4.2.1).

**PERFECTIVE ASPECT:** The perfective aspect is used to describe any action which has been completed. For examples in which it occurs see Text 59, sentence 1 and Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 5.

**PROGRESSIVE ASPECT:** The progressive aspect essentially describes movement towards an action. It appears in two contexts. In one it describes goal oriented movements like sitting down and standing up for which verb stems do not exist. See Text 19. In the other, it specifies that the action described by the verb in which it occurs follows the action described by a preceding verb to which it is conjoined. See 4.2.4.2.1.

**INFINITIVE ASPECT:** The infinitive aspect is employed to characterise an action which occurs or may occur as a direct result of another earlier action. The subject of the infinitive is always the object of the verb describing the motivating action. Thus, the infinitive aspect never occurs in independent clauses. For examples illustrating the infinitive aspect see the latter part of 4.2.4.2.3.

**HABITUAL ASPECT:** The habitual aspect indicates habitual action. Certain Texts contain large sections delivered in the habitual aspect. See, for example, Texts 52, 55 and 76, paragraph 2.

**IMPERATIVE MOOD:** The imperative mood is used in positive commands. See 4.2.2.3.

**POTENTIAL MOOD:** The potential mood, like the present tense, is a very complex verbal category, having a number of functions. A very important one is to indicate that an action will occur or will probably occur in the future. Relevant examples are found all through



the Texts and hence additional ones need not be provided here. Another function is to indicate a potential action in the past. See, for example, Text 48. Still another use is to specify a hypothetical situation, where English would begin with 'suppose' plus an embedded sentence in the simple present. In this regard see Texts 51 and 53, paragraph 2.

The potential mood is also used to form negative commands and even weak positive ones. See 4.2.2.3. Finally, it corresponds to the infinitive aspect in English, when the subject of the infinitive is the same as that of the main clause. See 4.2.4.2.1.

OPTATIVE MOOD: The optative mood indicates, according to Gilbert Bobby, that there is a '50/50 chance' that the action may occur. Examples illustrating the use of the active optative can be found in 4.2.5 (see the second example) and in Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 4. A passive optative is found in Text 22, sentence 3.

The reader may be interested to know that a special past optative may be derived by adding the anaphoric clitic -mu to the ordinary non-tense marked optative mood suffix. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

Witypanha                      parniyaamu yirtiyala?  
 Jerry Jerrold-PN sit-OPT-ANA street-LOC  
*Could Jerry have been sitting by the street before?*

See also 3.2.2.2 under -mu.

It may also be appropriate to mention here that it is possible to construct an alternate optative in Yindjibarndi by combining mayit, a borrowing of English 'might', with other verbal categories. Note, for instance, how mayit combines with the potential mood in the following sentence:

Ngayi mayit pangkarrii warrungkam'.  
 I            might go-POT            tomorrow  
*I might go tomorrow.*

See also Text 45, sentence 6, for an example involving the past tense.

IRREALIS MOOD: The irrealis mood is used in situations in which information that is contrary to fact is being presented. Consider the following examples:

Yirramakartula ngayi parnlingu yaalayhu, mityarnu  
 Roebourne-LOC I be-IRR now-DET drink-IMPRF  
*Right now I could be in Roebourne, drinking*

muyhumuyhu karil                                  ngawurrarlaau.  
cold        alcoholic beverage-OBJ beer-OBJ  
*a cold beer.*

Minytyuwarna.	Muntiyaam' ngayi
point at-PAST	apparently I
I was threatening him with it.	Apparently I
thuukaying'.	
spear-IRR	
was going to spear him.	

Mirta mirnu wanhtthartau ngaarnrtulu nyampalilu  
 not knowing when-OBJ my-INST boss-INST  
 I don't know when I could be given  
 yungkunguliingu ngayu alartiu.<sup>1</sup>  
 give-PASS-IRR I(OBJ) holiday-OBJ  
 a holiday by my boss.

See also the last example sentence in 4.2.4.5 and in 4.2.5.

### 3.2. Word Endings

This section is devoted to a consideration of non-inflectional suffixes and clitics.

### 3.2.1. Suffixes

Suffixes are essentially of two types, inflectional and purely derivational.<sup>2</sup> Inflectional suffixes, indicating case and number in the instance of nouns and pronouns, mood and aspect in the case of verb stems, are discussed in 3.1.1.2, 3.1.2.1.2 and 3.1.2.1.3, and 3.1.4.2, respectively, and therefore nothing further need be said about them here. This section, then, will be devoted only to a discussion of derivational suffixes, which may be used in the construction of nouns, pronouns and verb stems.

Here is a rare sentence in which the irrealis mood is employed in respect of a future action. Gilbert Bobby says that it is possible to utter such a sentence, only if you know that you are in fact not going to get a holiday and have already been told as much by your boss. Otherwise, you must use the potential mood. That is, you would have to substitute 'yungkunguliilu', the objective form of *will be given*, for 'yungkunquliinu'.

<sup>2</sup>I say 'purely' derivational, because inflectional suffixes are also derivational, words inflected with suffixes being able to take case endings. See 3.1.1.2.1, 3.1.1.2.2 and 3.3.1.

Purely derivational suffixes may be divided into two groups, those that are contentful (meaningful) and those that are not.<sup>1</sup> The former in turn are further divided into productive suffixes, which are characterised by the fact that they can be employed consciously by a speaker to form new words, and unproductive suffixes, which cannot.<sup>2</sup> Contentless suffixes are not so divided, because all contentless suffixes are unproductive. However, on this account one must not jump to the conclusion that these suffixes are linguistically dead items. They can and do enter into the production of new words.<sup>3</sup>

Now let us turn to a consideration of the suffixes themselves, which I have arranged in three lists as described above.

### 3.2.1.1. Contentful Suffixes

#### 3.2.1.1.1. Productive Suffixes

*-arnrtu* for, *belonging to*: This suffix is identical to the genitive case marker. When it is used syntactically, it may appear with or without a morpheme separator (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). However, when it is employed in a purely derivational manner, it is always preceded by a morpheme separator, that is, either *-th-* or *-ty-* (see below in this section). Consider the following examples:

wangkayarnrtu, wangkayharnrtu *radio*, wangka *talk*  
 muyhumuyhuyarnrtu *icebox*, *fridge*, muyhumuyhu *cold*  
 kampayarnrtu, kampayharnrtu *stove*, kampa- (VØ) *cook*

It is also possible to employ ordinary genitive case forms derivationally.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Contentless suffixes can actually be completely vacuous in terms of meaning. A derived word may have exactly the same meaning as the original word from which it has been derived. However, usually the new word will have a different meaning from the old one, even though a semantic relationship may be apparent. The point is that when a number of words sharing the same contentless suffix are compared, it is not possible to abstract out a common meaning, which may then be assigned to the contentless suffix. See especially the suffixes *-ngu* and *-ra* in 3.2.1.2.

<sup>2</sup>I have been cautious in assigning suffixes to the productive subgroup. When I was not sure which subgroup to assign a particular contentful suffix to, I put it in the unproductive subgroup. Thus, it may later turn out that certain unproductive suffixes are really productive. For example, *-karra* may be productive. When I mentioned 'Gum Tree Valley' to Ken M. Jerrold, he immediately came out with 'Wirrangkaarra Parkarra'. The first word is apparently a derivation from *wirrangkaa river red gum* plus *-karra*. Cf. *warrapaarra parkarra grassy plain*. The suffix of reduplication is also suspicious as it appears in many many derivations.

<sup>3</sup>Consider, for example, the derivations meaning *shoe* and *wheel*, which involve the contentless suffix *-ku*.

<sup>4</sup>Gilbert Bobby once declined *ngaarnrtu my (property)* for me in the singular and also inflected it for dual and plural number. It followed the pattern for common nouns exactly.

-kaa *like*: Consider the following examples in which this semblative suffix appears:

parkarranykaa *plains kangaroo*, parkarra *grassy plain*,

-ny CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

wuyurrkaa *easy*, wuyut *nothing*

mankarraa *difficult*, mankarr *hard*

nganiaa *like what*, ngani *what*

For another example in context, see Text 21, sentence 3. -kaa is apparently related to the allative case marker -kura in Pandjima (see O'Grady and others 1966:90). Blake (1977:56) suggests that similar allative forms in other Aboriginal languages are based on the dative case marker -ku. See also -purra and -purraa in the next section.

-karlaa *having*: This is the so-called proprietive suffix. It appears in a number of derivations. Some interesting ones are listed below:

marniarlaa *striped*, marni *mark*

martuwarlaa *ute*, martu *space*

ngawurrarlaa *beer*, ngawurr *foam*

nguurrarlaa *pig*, nguurr *grunt*

partuwarlaa *bird*, partu *feather*

thaarriarlaa *female*, thaarri *vagina*<sup>1</sup>

thathaarlaa *liar*, thatha *lie*

wantaarlaa *insane*, wanta *insanity*<sup>2</sup>

wirrartkarlaa *loved one*, wirrart *feelings*

The Texts are full of examples showing -karlaa being used syntactically as a substitute for the verb stem kanytya- (VL) *have*. For instance, see Text 8, sentence 1 and Text 44, sentence 4. Sometimes the proprietive suffix is used to render the English preposition 'with', even though Yindjibarndi has a special comitative case marker -pari (which see). See, for example, Text 52, sentence 2 and Text 54, sentence 1. For information on the derivation of -karlaa, see 3.3.4.

<sup>1</sup>Note also warnrtilarlaa *male*, warnrti *penis*.

<sup>2</sup>Compare the reduplicated form wantawanta *insane*.

**-kula both:** This suffix is distinct from the dual number marker *-kuyha*. *-kula* is evidently cognate with Ngarluma *-pula* (see 2.2.15), which occurs in the second person dual pronoun *nyintapula you two* (see O'Grady and others 1966:97). Capell (1956:61-63, 93) discusses the distribution of the roots *\*kutha* and *\*pula* from which these two different suffixes are derived. For examples illustrating the use of *-kula* in Yindjibarndi, see Text 74, paragraph 1, sentences 3 and 6; Text 75, paragraph 2, sentences 1 and 8; and Text 76, paragraph 1, sentence 4 and paragraph 6, sentence 2.

**-maa maker, doer:** This suffix is composed of the factitive verbaliser *-ma-* (VL) and the obsolete agent suffix *-ra* (see next section). Some words in which it occurs are presented below:

*mirnumaa teacher, mirnu knowing, clever*

*murtimaa fast-runner, motorcar*<sup>1</sup> (cf. Nm *murtimara*),  
*murti fast*

*tyutyumaa flesh of the plains kangaroo which makes  
one grow old, tyutyu old person*

**-marta, -nmarta, -rnmarta AGENT SUFFIX:** These three complementary productive agent suffixes are homophonous with the habitual aspect markers (see 3.1.4.2.1), which are also used with verb stems.<sup>2</sup> I suspect that they are developed from them. Consider the following examples in which these agent suffixes appear:

*Nyinta mirta parnei ngartangka myanmartala!*  
*you not sit-POT beside-LOC steal-AGT-LOC*  
*Don't you sit by the thief!*

*Ngunhu thathayi parrwarnmarta.*<sup>3</sup>  
*he tell a lie-AGT*  
*He is a liar.*

See also Hale 1966:77 for an example, which employs a  $\emptyset$ -stem verb.

<sup>1</sup>Note also the homonym *Murtimaa Frank Wordick* and also the synonym *pinimaa*.

<sup>2</sup>Also note *-marta eater*, which appears in the following section, and the homophonous contentless suffix in the one after that.

<sup>3</sup>Perhaps a more literal translation of this sentence might be *He is a teller of lies*. Compare the first three examples in the discussion on the objective case in 3.1.1.2.2.2. It is, of course, possible to translate this sentence as *He habitually tells lies*, but I wish to assure the reader that this is the correct (and only) way to say *He is a liar*, using the expression *thathayi parrwa-* (VR).

-ngaala *on account of, over*: This suffix is used very infrequently. It occurs in the term *ngunhungaala on account of that*, which I asked for, and also in a different context in Text 76, paragraph 6, sentence 4. -ngaala is cognate with Ngarluma -ngara, which has the same meaning (see Hale 1960:383). -la is evidently the locative case marker.

-nyaa *for, goes here*: Consider the following examples<sup>1</sup> in which -nyaa is used as a purely derivational suffix:

Pampanyaa *Sunday*,<sup>2</sup> pampa *sleep*  
 pawanyaa *depression at the base of the throat*, pawa *water*  
 wanangkaanyaa *depression in the small of the back*,  
 wanangkaa *whirlwind*  
 wartanyaa *bladder*, kuwarta *urine*

See also the interesting example in Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 6, where this suffix is employed syntactically. -nyaa is identical<sup>3</sup> to the passive optative mood marker for Ø-stem verbs (see 3.1.4.2.1).

-nyungu *dweller*: This suffix is derived from its unproductive synonym -nyu (see 3.2.1.1.2) by the addition of the contentless suffix -ngu (see 3.2.1.2). It occurs with common nouns.<sup>4</sup> Proper nouns take -partu (see below). Note the following examples:

marnrtanyungu *mountain dweller*, marnrta *mountain*  
 ngarnkanyungu *bird, airplane*, ngarnka *sky*  
 ngartanyungu *kidney*, ngarta *(along)side*  
 Thungkawarnanyungu *person from Tunkawanna*, Thungkawarna  
 Tunkawanna, *Long Mack's country*  
 warnrtanyungu *tree dweller*, warnrta *tree*

See also Text 62, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

-parrimarta *lacking, without*: The privative suffix serves as an antonym for both the proprietive suffix -karlaa *having* (see above)

<sup>1</sup>Note also Kurrama *purruunyaa waist* (Hale 1959b:8), literally *where the hair belt goes*.

<sup>2</sup>Coppin Dale indicated to me that this term for *Sunday* literally means *for sleep*. See Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 1, for an example in which Pampanyaa is used in context.

<sup>3</sup>See von Brandenstein 1975:54, who gives -nyura as the corresponding Ngarluma form, which is used with both nouns and Ø-stem verbs.

<sup>4</sup>It is possible that -nyungu may also be used with retroflex nouns, but I did not receive any such examples.

and the comitative case marker *-pari with* (see 3.1.1.2.2.2). For examples of its syntactic use with nouns, see Text 51, sentence 3; Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 3; Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 2; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 6. See also 4.1.3, where the privative suffix is used in connection with a verb. In the following and final example *-parrimarta* is employed in the production of a purely morphological derivation:

*manyuwarrimarta bludger, moocher, manyu something good  
to eat*<sup>1</sup>

*-partu dweller*: This suffix appears productively with proper nouns (cf. *-nyungu* above). For example:

*Marrawartu person from Marra, Marranha Gilbert Bobby's  
country*

However, it also occurs in the term *ngarriwartu earth oven*, where *ngarri* is an extremely rare common noun meaning *ashes*. Here it seems to have the same meaning that it does in *Thalandji* and *Bayungu*, which is *possessed of* (see O'Grady and others 1966:107 and 110). That is, it is equivalent to *-karlaa* (see above). Consider also the term *yirryiwartu native cat* in which the meaning of *yirryi-* is unfortunately unknown.

*-pi sticking out*: This suffix occurs in the following morphological derivations:

*tyirriwi native porcupine, tyirri prickly  
wayawi species of grasshopper, wayha leg  
kartawinykarra sideways, kartaa side of face*

The last example shown above is especially interesting, because *-pi* there is first followed by the contentless suffix *-ny* and then by the unproductive suffix *-karra* and also because *-pi* exhibits a more abstract meaning of *manifested* in this context. The two examples which are found in Text 16, sentences 1 and 2, demonstrate that this suffix is surely productive.

<sup>1</sup>Manyuwarrimarta may also be reasonably derived from *manyuwarri-* (VØ) *ask for* with *-marta* (see further above in text) being interpreted as the agent suffix. See also Hale 1960:377, where Robert Churnside translates *manyu* as *begging*.

-punhtharri, -npunhtharri, -rnpunhtharri *thing for*:<sup>1</sup> This set of suffixes occurs with nouns as well as verb stems. Consider the following examples:

thurlawunhtharri *depression in the base of a throwing  
spear*, thurla *butt-peg on a woomera*  
parniwunhtharri *chair*, parni- (VØ) *sit*  
mantawunhtharri *belt*, manta- (VØ) *encircle oneself*  
warlimanpunhtharri *broom*, warlima- (VL) *sweep*  
wanpirnpunhtharri *club*, wanpi- (VR) *hit with a held object*

-rra (*be*)*cause*:<sup>2</sup> The causal suffix is usually found in conjunction with nominalised verbs in which case it translates into English as *because* (see 4.2.4.5). However, it may also be observed attached to the subject of a sentence as shown immediately below:

Nyintarra nyurnrtimarna "nanny-goat"ku.  
you-CAUS kill-PAST -OBJ  
*You're the cause of that nanny-goat getting killed.*

Thus, it can be employed to disambiguate the subject of certain types of clauses in which the subject and object of the verb are both typically inflected for objective case (see especially 4.2.4.2.3 and 4.2.7), even though it is extremely unusual to do so.<sup>3</sup> Note the following example:

Ngayi mirnu ngaartarrau wanpikaayiu wartirrau.  
I know man-CAUS-OBJ hit-PRF-OBJ woman-OBJ  
*I know that the man hit the woman.*

-th-, -ty- MORPHEME SEPARATOR: Although -th- and -ty- do not contain any real lexical meaning, they nevertheless possess a very precise function. This is to separate a suffix, beginning with a vowel, from the final vowel of a word to which it is being attached. See -arnrtu *for, belonging to* further above.

<sup>1</sup>Compare Ngarluma (Hale 1960:75-85, 189-95), where -punhtharri is employed with nouns and Ø-stem verbs and -lpunhtharri (cf. Yindjibarndi -npunhtharri) with L-stem verbs.

<sup>2</sup>Western Desert has -rraka (O'Grady and others 1966:158), which suggests that the Yindjibarndi form should be -\*rraa. However, I did check the vowel for length and found it to be short. Hale (1959a:17) also records it as short.

<sup>3</sup>In fact it was difficult to get even the single example illustrated below in the text, although the preceding one was freely volunteered. Compare the situation in Ngarluma, where -kapu, which appears to correspond with Yindjibarndi -rra (see Hale 1960:39, 351, 400, 404), is evidently normally used to mark the object in such ambiguous circumstances (see Hale 1960:179-80, 267, 339, 380).



-winyangu *full of*: This suffix is frequently heard in connection with the word *kari alcoholic beverage*. However, I am told by Gilbert Bobby that it can occur in combination with any semantically suitable term; for example:

pawawinyangu *full of water*, pawa water  
 pirnrtuwinyangu *full of food*, pirnrtu food

The relationship between -winyangu and the free word winya *full* is obvious (see 3.3.4).

-yi and -u VOCATIVE SUFFIXES:<sup>1</sup> -yi frequently occurs with people's names, the pronoun nyinta *you*<sup>2</sup> and certain interjections such as wanhthiwa *how do* and parra *go on*, when the speaker is calling out. Consider also the following minitext<sup>3</sup> provided by Long Mack, which contains two interjections that cannot be uttered without -yi:

Yakayi!	Ngunhu	ngayu	wanpirna.
ow(VOC)	he	me	hit-PAST
Ow!	He	hit	me.
Kuwayi!	Ngayu	mingkayhukayi.	
come here(VOC)	me	protect-POT	
Come here!	Help	me!	

Sometimes it may even occur with an ordinary noun in an exclamatory context.<sup>4</sup> -yi has a defective distribution. It can only be attached to words ending in a vowel; for example, Yinpirrpai! *Long Mack!*, Kakui! *Norman!*, Tyirtii! *Cheedy!*. With words ending in a consonant, vocative content is carried by the intonation contour alone, for example Pityin! *Ken!*.

-u has an even narrower distribution. It presents itself as an alternative to -yi with trisyllabic nouns, for example Yinpirrpau! and wanhthiwau!. It is also found in interjections, the bound stems of which are monosyllabic morphemes; that is, pau! *hey!*<sup>5</sup> nyau! *boo!*

<sup>1</sup>-yi and -u are treated as derivational suffixes rather than as case markers, because both have quite incomplete ranges of occurrence and because they occur indifferently on either common or proper nouns, a characteristic of derivational suffixes but not case markers.

<sup>2</sup>I have not heard vocative forms of its dual or plural.

<sup>3</sup>See also Text 25.

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, Text 14, sentence 3.

<sup>5</sup>Compare the corresponding Nyangumarda term, which is payi! (see O'Grady 1964:2).

and ngau! *yes!*.<sup>1</sup> Compare the distribution of -yi and -u (=Nyangumarda -ku)<sup>2</sup> with the objective case markers -yi and -ku (see 3.1.1.2.2.1).

### 3.2.1.1.2. Unproductive Suffixes

-irti *spearer*:

kurnmairti *good hunter*, kurnma *delicious*  
mutyairti *nose plug*, mutha *nose*

-karra: This suffix has two meanings. The first is '-ed'. The second is 'and reciprocal'. It occurs with all nouns except those ending in i,<sup>3</sup> which take -yarra (see below). Consider the two sets of examples listed below:

1. kangkankarra *forked (road)*, kangkan *fork*  
yirtinykarra *lined up*, yirtiny *queue, line*
2. kurtaarra *a man and his younger sibling*,  
N1 kurta *older brother*  
  
thurtuwarra *a woman and her younger sibling*,  
thurtu *older sister*

-malu *quantity*:

nganimalu *how many, how much*,<sup>4</sup> ngani *what*  
wartumalu *flock of crows*, warru *black*,  
warnturla *maggie*  
payamalu *king brown snake*, paya *viciousness*

-man *person, thing*: Judging from the nature of the examples given below, this suffix has an ancestry, which runs parallel to -pala (see below):

<sup>1</sup>Compare the non-vocative form ngaa. I asked Gilbert Bobby, if it were possible to construct a similar vocative form for mirta *no*. He stated categorically that both \*mirtau and \*mirtayi were impossible. This demonstrates that -yi and -u are suffixes and not clitics. But see von Brandenstein 1970:195, 202-203 and look elsewhere in the same Text for other occurrences of -u in contradictory places.

<sup>2</sup>See O'Grady 1964:65, 77.

<sup>3</sup>I may have over-simplified the analysis. There may also be a -warra variant. Compare mirnawarra, mirna *while*. But see the Dictionary.

<sup>4</sup>Most of my male informants do not use nganimalu in this latter sense, employing nganiaa *like what* in its place. Gilbert Bobby, for example, says that -malu means *number*. But then see the last example in this set.

yirtiyaman *shire council*, yirtiya road<sup>1</sup>  
 buliman *bull*, cow  
 tyilaman *rifle*, tyila *tap-root*<sup>2</sup>

-marra *one*: This suffix seems to be an active form of -karra (see above). In this regard note the relationship obtaining between the two verbalisers -ma- and -ka- (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.1). Consider the following examples:

karnkamarra *independent fellow*, karnka *independent*  
 tyartunmarra *rock wallaby*, tyartungu *rock hole*  
 karimarra *plains kangaroo section*, kari *bad-tasting*

-marri *each other*:

ngartamarri *side-by-side*, ngarta *(be)side*  
 purlumarri *face-to-face*, purlaa *in front*

-marta *eater*: This suffix is homophonous with the productive agent suffix for Ø-stem verbs (see preceding section) as well as with a contentless suffix (see next section). Some examples in which it is used are listed below:

puwamarta *scavenger*, puwa *rotten (food)*  
 warrayimarta *species of fly-eating lizard*,  
 warrayi *bush fly*  
 tyayumarta *bee-fly* (cf. Ku tyayimarta),  
 tyayimarra *flower of the blackheart tree*

-mirtayi *where the \_\_\_ is/are*:<sup>3</sup>

marnrtamirtayi *rocky ground, mountain country*,  
 marnrta *rock, mountain*  
 wirlukurumirtayi *gravy*, wirlukuru *drippings*

-nu -ing: This suffix is homophonous with the imperfective aspect marker for N-stem verbs (see 3.1.4.2.1) and it appears to possess a similar meaning - at least in the examples presented immediately below:

<sup>1</sup>The shire council is responsible for the upkeep of the roads.

<sup>2</sup>For another interpretation, see Worms 1937-38:459-60.

<sup>3</sup>Gilbert Bobby translated this suffix 'stuff'. It is clear to me that -mirtayi is cognate with the Nyangumarda suffix -martayi, which means *place of*. On the latter see O'Grady 1964:48, 61.

wiyanu *hunting* (cf. Pn wiya- (V) *look*),  
 wiyangarra *barn owl*  
 waranu *kind of lerp covering the leaves of*  
*the river red gum, wara clothing*

However, this meaning does not come through well in the terms pirtunu *kidnapped* (cf. pirtuwangu *initiant, prisoner*) and tyinytyanungu *worker* (cf. tyinytyi *wage payment*).<sup>1</sup> See also the related suffix -rnu in this section.

-ny INCEPTIVE SUFFIX: This suffix occurs with both nouns and Ø-stem verbs as shown below:

karliny *returning*, karlima- (VL) *hold back*,  
 -ma- FACTITIVE VERBALISER  
 parniny *starting to sit*,<sup>2</sup> parni- (VØ) *sit*  
 karriny *starting to stand*, karri- (vØ) *stand*

-nyu *dweller*: This suffix is the unproductive variant of -nyungu (see preceding section). It only appears in the following two words:

ngurranyu *wife*, ngurra *camp*  
 kananyuwarra *woman and her husband's sister*,  
 kana *clearing*, -karra UNPRODUCTIVE SUFFIX

-pala BORROWED ADJECTIVE SUFFIX: This is the modifier suffix which is often encountered in English pidgins. It derives from the word 'fellow' (cf. -man above). In the Pilbara the remains of what apparently was once a pidgin language has become embedded in the Aboriginal languages. The Aborigines now speak more or less ordinary country English. Note the following terms in which -pala occurs:

arlipala *early*  
 purtipala *pretty*  
 watypala *white (Caucasian)*  
 yangupala *young*

-paya *having*: This suffix is the unproductive version of -karlaa (see preceding section). It apparently only occurs in the following two terms:

<sup>1</sup>The original Pama-Nyungan meaning '-ed' appears to be preserved in these two terms (see 3.1.4.2.1). See also ngayinuwarra in the Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup>Note also parninyparniny *a baby which has just learned to sit up*, and see the last item in this section.

*mayawaya landlord, maya house*  
*murlawaya someone who always has meat, murla meat*

See also the immediately following suffix.

**-payi having:** This suffix is cognate with the comitative case marker *-pari with* (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). When it occurs in words in which it has a derivational function, it always appears in the form *-wayi* (cf. homophonous possibility suffix further below). This is because in these circumstances it is the direct reflex of proto-Ngayardic *-\*wari*.<sup>1</sup> Compare *kayawayi orange caper* with *Ngarluma katyawari*. *-\*wari* has been restructured as *-pari* for use in the syntactic domain (see also 2.2.5). Now consider the examples listed below:

*kayawayi orange caper, kayalangkarr tiny red and*  
*white striped melon*  
*panhthawayi perentie, Nm panhtha hump*  
*yillwayi rainbow, yilimpirraa mudlark (small black*  
*bird streaked with white)*

Note that this suffix possesses a function, which resembles that of the immediately preceding one except that in this case the thing being possessed is inalienable (see 4.1.1.2. and compare Sharpe 1972:68).

**-pirri -ish:** This suffix may be a variant of the one which immediately follows, although this is not completely clear given the available examples, which are listed below:

*karliwirri pancreas, WD karli boomerang*  
*kuluwirri brown snake, kulu louse*  
 (cf. *Nm ku(r)luku(r)lu small*)  
*ngartawirri turtle, ngarta (be)side*<sup>2</sup>  
*nyutyuwirri soft, ngurranyutyungkamu before when*  
*the earth was soft*

Compare the irregular plural number marker *-pirri*.

**-pirti -y:** This suffix is homophonous with and possibly identical to an irregular plural number marker (see 3.1.1.2.1). See also the preceding suffix. Consider the following examples:

<sup>1</sup>Compare Thargari in which the proprietive suffix has the form *-wari* (see O'Grady and others 1966:112).

<sup>2</sup>The turtle's neck is so long that it must be turned to the side in order to get it under the shell.

karnrtatypirti *teary*, karnrta *tear*  
 pawatypirti *watery*, juicy, pawa *water*  
 karratypirti *slippery*, karra *thicket*<sup>1</sup>  
 nyurruwirti *snotty*, nyurru *snot*  
 warliwirti *lightning*, warli *clear*

Note that when this suffix is added to a noun ending in a as in the first examples, it is preceded by the contentless suffix -ty (see next section).

-puka *thing, person*: This suffix may be borrowed from Ngarluma. The first example in which it occurs, namely Kurnapuka *Goonabooka Pool* or *Blackfellow's Pool* as it is known to the Aborigines<sup>2</sup> (cf. kurna *charcoal*), is most surely a borrowing as this pool is only walking distance from Roebourne, meaning it is in the middle of traditional Ngarluma territory. The other example in which it manifests itself is tyinapuka *shoe, boot* (cf. tyina *foot*). This example is also suspect, because there is no lenition of intervocalic p, which would be expected in a Yindjibarndi word. But note the following suffix and see also the last footnote in 2.2.15.

-purnu *user*: This suffix is unusual in that it does not lenite when it is attached to a word ending in a vowel. Perhaps it is preceded by the contentless suffix -Ø- (see the next section). In any case consider the following exhaustive list of examples in which it is present:

thurlapurnu *nosy*, thurla *eye*  
 tyinapurnu *footloose*, tyina *foot*

-purra *almost like*: This suffix appears to possess a meaning which approaches that of the semblative suffix -kaa (see preceding section), but does not quite equal it. Of course, this interpretation must remain a rather tentative one, since I can only find a single example in which this suffix occurs. It is:

waawurra *wild, not tame* (cf. Nm wayapurra),  
 waa *frightened* (cf. Nm waya)

But see also the indirect allative case marker -purraa in section 3.1.1.2.2.1.

<sup>1</sup>The word for *slippery* is used in reference to submerged rocks. Thus, karra must refer to the slimy vegetation which covers them.

<sup>2</sup>Thanks to Henry Jerrold for this bit of information.

-purraa *just short of*: This suffix is identical to the indirect allative case marker (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). However, when it is used derivationally, it takes on a slightly different meaning, which is indicated in the following three examples:

warruurra *last light*, warru *night*  
 martuurraa *flat on one's back*, martungkamu  
*after sleep, time to get up*  
 wirrwiwurraa *upwind*, wirrwi *wind*

-ra AGENT SUFFIX: This suffix goes specifically with non-Ø-stem verbs. It occurs in three examples. The first is the productive suffix -maa (see preceding section). The second is mara, the term for *hand*. Compare Proto-Ngayardic \*ma- (VN) *grab*.<sup>1</sup> The third is tyankara *policeman*, a borrowing from Ngarluma. Note Ngarluma tyanka- (VL) *tie*. In Ngarluma -ra is the productive agent suffix for non-Ø-stem verbs (see Hale 1960:71). See also -rr below and -marta in the preceding section.

-rnu -ing: This suffix is homophonous with the imperfective aspect marker for R and L-stem verbs (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). It is closely related to -nu (see above). -rnu occurs in at least these two examples:

mirnu *knowing*, mirtuwarra *knowledgeable person*  
 minytyarnu *including*

-rr AGENT SUFFIX: Here is yet another agent suffix (cf. -ra above). However, this one occurs with nouns as well as with Ø and non-Ø-stem verbs as shown by the following list of examples:

ngatyarr *native doctor's spirit helper*, ngatyaaarra  
*helpful*  
 wangkarr *throat*, wangka *speech*, wangka- (VØ) *talk*  
 yintirr *water-boatman (diving beetle)*, yinti- (VØ)  
*go down*  
 panhthurr *someone who can't keep his hands to himself*,  
 panhthu- (VL) *touch*

<sup>1</sup>Both \*ma- and mara are of Proto-Pama-Nyungan vintage.

-rt *one, place*: This suffix occurs in two terms:

walaart *that (mid-distant) one*, wala, oblique stem

walaa- *that (mid-distant)*

Tyikurrart *Sherlock Station (Place of the Bony Bream)*,

tyiurra *bony bream* (cf. Nm tyikurra)

Compare the meaning of -rt in these two terms with that of the classifier clitic -na in ngunhthaana *that place, that one*. See also -t below.

-t *one*: This suffix - unlike -rt (see above) - only occurs in conjunction with pronouns, specifically with the third person near and augmented distant singular forms nhaa *this* and ngunhaa *that* respectively, as well as with the augmented plural stems nhungkaa- *these*, walaangkaa- *those (mid-distant)*, ngunhungkaa- *those (far)* and ngunhaangkaa- *those (far)*. See also -t in the following section.

-tyarri *each other*: The status of this suffix is unclear. It only occurs in the name of a corroboree, Kurnrtatyarri *Mutual Respect*<sup>1</sup> (cf. kurnrta *respect*), which was dreamed by Jack Ray, a person of mixed Aboriginal ancestry. Thus, the word may not be Yindjibarndi. In this regard note the unlenited ty in medial position between vowels. However, lenition here may be impeded by a preceding -Ø- suffix (see next section). Consider also the fact that -tyarri is matched by a reciprocal verbaliser -nytyarri- just as its synonym -marri (see above) is paired with the reciprocal verbaliser -marri- (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.4).

-tyirri *sticking out*: This suffix is an unproductive synonym for -pi (see preceding section). Note the following examples in which it occurs:

kartairri *flat granite outcropping*, karta *bottom*

puntiirri *spike bush* (cf. WD punti *cassia bush*)

putatyrri *impassibly rough ground*<sup>2</sup>

-yirraa- (VR) CAUSATIVE VERBALISER (cf. Nm -tyirrima-),

-ra- (VR) FACTITIVE VERBALISER

Note that in the last example -tyirri is better translated as *manifested* just as -pi- is in the causative verbaliser -pima- (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.4).

<sup>1</sup>The name describes the relationship which occurs between Jack Ray and the spirit man who taught him the corroboree.

<sup>2</sup>The bound root purta- here must refer to lumps of rock. In other terms it refers to small round seeds, e.g. putartu *sandalwood*. The free stem means *testicle*.



**-wayi potentially:** This suffix is homophonous with the potential mood marker for Ø-stem verbs ending in u (see 3.1.4.2.1). It also has a similar meaning. It has a very restricted distribution, occurring only with the word *munti really*, which it converts into a term meaning *perhaps* or *maybe*.

**-yaa possibly:** This suffix is homophonous with the optative mood marker for Ø-stem verbs (see 3.1.4.2.1) and has a similar meaning. Consider the following example(s)<sup>1</sup> in which it occurs:

*muntiyaamu, muntiyaawayhu possibly, apparently,*  
*munti really*

**-yarra:** This suffix is the variant of *-karra* (see above) which occurs after *i*. The examples listed below are divided into two sets according to the scheme outlined under *-karra*:

1. *marniyarra carpet snake, marni mark*  
*Kariyarra Kariëra, kari salty (ground)*
2. *kanhtharraarra woman and her daughter's daughter*  
*(cf. Nm kanhtharriyarra), kanhtharri mother's*  
*mother*

**REDUPLICATION SUFFIX:** When this suffix is applied to a word or bound stem, it affects the last two syllables in that word or stem, regardless of how long the particular item is, whether it ends in a consonant or vowel or whether or not suffixes are present. Consider the following examples:

*marnrtamarnrta rocky, marnrta rock*  
*karrinykarriny a baby which has just learned to*  
*stand up, karriny starting to stand, karri- (VØ)*  
*stand,*<sup>2</sup> *-ny INCEPTIVE SUFFIX*  
*kawarliwarli butterfly, kawarli father's mother*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See also *ngartiyaawayhu* in the Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup>Verb stems do not reduplicate in Yindjibarndi. Reduplication takes place in this example only after nominalisation. I did get *kartaakartaa-* (VL) *poke around* (cf. *kartaa-* (VL) *poke*) from one informant, but no one else would approve the construction.

<sup>3</sup>According to W.E.H. Stanner (personal communication), the Murinpata regard butterflies as the spirits of deceased ancestors. Also, John R. von Sturmer tells me that among the Yuulngu the members of the *dua* moiety hold a butterfly corroboree in connection with the belief that souls of the deceased travel to Bralgu Island where they turn into butterflies.

tyurlawirtinypirtiny *Sturt's desert pea*, tyurlarr *milkweed pod*  
 wirti wirti *hanging* (cf. *wirti bell*)<sup>1</sup> -ny CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

After reduplication, lenition (see 2.2.10) may occur as shown below:

kuruuru *fat and round*, Ma kuru *eye*, Nm *seed*  
 parliwarli *snaky*, parli *bend*

or it may not occur, for example:

pirrapirra *shell*, pirra *rough outer covering*  
 tyurtutyurtu *fragrant*, tyurtu *native flower*

On rare occasions, fortition (see 2.2.5) may also take place as it does in the following example:

warrurnparrurn *blue blow-fly*, warru *dark-coloured*,  
 -rn CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

Evidently, additional suffixes may then be added:<sup>2</sup>

pirtuwirtaa *scout* (cf. Nm pirtupirtura)  
 tyakatyakara *barking gecko*

Most of the time the reduplication suffix is used to form noun modifiers, which describe a principle characteristic of the noun from which they are derived:

martamarta *red*, marta *blood*  
 muyhumuyhu *cold*, muyhu *the cold*, winter  
 purnrtawurnrta *bumpy*, purnrta *pot-hole*  
 tyurtutyurtu *fragrant*, tyurtu *native flower*  
 wantawanta *insane*, wanta *insanity*

However, sometimes it means - or at least possesses the connotation of *a lot of*:<sup>3</sup>

mutyimutyi *full of holes*, mutyi *hole*  
 parliwarli *full of bends*, parli *bend*

And then sometimes apparently has no significance as in

pikipiki *pig(gie)*, also piki

<sup>1</sup>I doubt that -wirti (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER or -pirti (S) -ish have anything to do with this derivation.

<sup>2</sup>Unfortunately, the examples given below in the text are not the best, because it is not possible to clearly identify the root in them. However, note the following example: Ngarluma pirrupirrura *sacred kingfisher*, Yindjibarndi pirrupirru, Thargari pirru (= Yindjibarndi murla *meat; animal, especially a bird*).

<sup>3</sup>Throughout northern Australia reduplication is the typical means by which plurals are formed.

### 3.2.1.2. Contentless Suffixes

- ka: ngarnka *sky* (cf. Nm *beard*), ngarnngarn *chin*  
 mayharka *exposed tangled roots*, Pn matha *root*,  
 -r- CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

See also relevant examples under -r- and -rr- below.

-ku: This suffix is homophonous with the objective case marker which is a clitic (3.2.2.1). Note the following examples in which it appears:

- tyutyiku *boots, shoes, English shoes*  
 karlaura *wheel*, Nl kala *thigh*, -ra CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

In regard to the latter example see also 3.2.1.1.1 under -kaa.

-la: This suffix is homophonous with the locative case marker -la. Consider the following examples:

- purlaala *fruit*, purlaawa *non-native flower*  
 kayalangkarr *small red-and-white striped melon*,  
 kayawayi *orange caper*, -ngka , -rr  
 DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

In terms like Minkala *Aboriginal deity* and mirrurtula *infant*, it is difficult to decide whether -la is best interpreted as the locative suffix or as the purely derivational suffix. See the Dictionary.

- li: martuli *centre*, martu *two-dimensional space*  
 mirrili *loud clear sound*, mirrimpa *native fiddle*

- lili: kanalili *dawn*, kana *clear*

-ma: This suffix is homophonous with the imperative mood marker for Ø-stem verbs. It occurs in the following examples:

- Kurrama *Kurrama*, kurraurra *rough (ground)*  
 punhamali *randy*, punha *sexual desire*,  
 -li CONTENTLESS SUFFIX  
 yurrama *soak, well*, yurra- (VR) *dig*

- mama: tyintyimama *obese, chubby*, tyintyi *animal fat*

-marta: This suffix is homophonous with the unproductive suffix meaning *eater* (see 3.2.1.1.2) and also with the agent suffix for Ø-stem verbs (see 3.2.1.1.1). Note the following examples:

karnrtimarta *bloodwood seed*, karnrti *tail*  
 -parrimarta (see 4.1.3), Pn/Pl -pati *lacking, without*

-mpi: kantlpi *tiny* (see 2.2.12), kantuwarri- (VØ)  
           *stoop down*  
           martulimplli *middle of the night*, martungkamu  
           *after sleep*, -li CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-mpu: pilampurrwa *spearwood*, Nm pilarra *spear*, Yi-rr,  
           -pa CONTENTLESS SUFFIXES  
           Yantimpurrwa *Harold and Cheedy Ned's country*,<sup>1</sup>  
           yantl *hollow log*

-n: kurnan *kind of black rock used for paint*, kurna  
           *charcoal*  
           mirnrtin *clitoris*, mirnrtii *wart*, mole  
           tyartun *rock wallaby*, tyartungu *rock hole*

-nga: yirringan *river wattle*, yirrima- (VL) *chop out a*  
           *section of wood*, -n CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-ngka: This suffix is homophonous with a locative case marker.  
 Consider the examples given below:

kuingka *thigh bone*, kuyhi *bone* (cf. Nm kutyl)  
 nyilinyillingka, nyilinyili *swallow (bird)*

-ngku: This suffix is homophonous with an instrumental case marker  
 (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). Some words in which it is found are listed below:

tharrangkurla *kurrajong (deciduous tree)*, tharra  
           *jag hook, made of a twig stripped of its leaves,*  
           *which is used to snag bardie grubs*, -rla  
           CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

thurnungkurla *deep*, thurnu *under*, -rla  
           CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

tyilangkurr *water-holding frog*, tyila *tap-root*,  
           -rr CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-ngu: muwarlingu, Nm mukarli *silver-leaf wattle*  
           ngangkungu, ngangku *old boomer kangaroo*  
           payankarrangu, payankarra *soldier, warrior*

<sup>1</sup>It is unclear why the 'm' in -mpu is not dissimilated here as it is in -mpi (see immediately above in text) in the term kantlpi *tiny*.

payarrangu, payarra *soldier, warrior*  
 pirtungu, pirtu *chest*  
 yllrangu *type of stone used to make knives,*  
 yirra *sharp edge*

-nhthu: ngawunhthurr *tiny rock melon,* ngawurr  
                   *bubble*  
                   nyarrimanhthu *eyelash,* nyarri *rim*  
                   -ma CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-nhu: Evidence for the existence of this suffix is very tenuous. It surely occurs in the term mantanhu *kind of fish net*, but there is little doubt that this word has been borrowed from Ngarluma (see Hale 1960:317, Hall 1971:14). It is possible that this suffix may be present in the kinship term marrkanhu *wife's brother*. However, I have not been able to identify the first two syllables in it as a root. The only place -nhu surely obtains in a Yindjibarndi word is in the demonstrative pronoun ngunhu (see 3.1.2.1.2), where it appears to serve as a marker for the nominative case.

-ni: mama, oblique singular stem mamani- *father's younger brother* (cf. yumuni *father's older brother*)

-ny: This suffix is homophonous with the unproductive inceptive suffix (see preceding section). Note the following examples:<sup>1</sup>

tylrriny *Millstream palm,* tylrri *sharp projection*  
 wirtany (*kangaroo*) *path,* wlrta *leg*

-nya: kurkanyan *species of tree,* kurkaurta *related species of tree,* -n CONTENTLESS SUFFIX  
 parnrtanyat *part of the body where the thigh joins the hip,* WD parnrta *groin,* Yi-t CONTENTLESS SUFFIX  
 (cf. parnrtanyarpin *cross-legged*)

-ø-: This suffix is a variant of -t (see below). On how this can be so, see 2.2.10. It occurs in the following example:

kurnrtakarra *two people who are related as mother's brother and sister's son* (cf. Nm kurnrtalkarra),  
 kurnrta *respect,* -karra UNPRODUCTIVE SUFFIX

<sup>1</sup>See also section 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.1 under -tya- (VL).

-pa: This suffix is homophonous with the emphatic clitic (see 3.2.2.4). Note its presence in the examples shown below:

kutapa, *kuta short*  
purlaawa *non-native flower*, purlaala *fruit*

-r-: This suffix is a variant of -rt (see below), both developing from Proto-Ngayardic *-\*rI* (see O'Grady 1966:89). After examining the single example listed below, consider also the examples given under -ka in this section.

kurrarka *hairy caterpillar*, kurraurra *rough*,  
-ka CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-ra: This suffix is homophonous with the reverse locative suffix (see 3.1.1.2.2.1) and also with an unproductive agent suffix (see 3.2.1.1.2). A contentless -ra appears in the examples presented immediately below:

kakurlira, *kakurli species of milkweed*  
karnrtara *cloud*, karnrta *tear(drop)*  
kukura *wool*, kukurntyayi *sheep*<sup>1</sup>  
Martuyhunira, Martuyhuni *Marduthunira*  
ngunhaa, ngunhu *that (far)*<sup>2</sup>

-ri: pirrii *slender like a toothpick*, pirrirti *fibula*  
(*slender bone in the lower leg*)  
thungkari *grave*,<sup>3</sup> thungka *soil, dirt*  
wangkuri *corner*, warnku *bend* (see next suffix)

-rla: kakurla, *kakurli kind of milkweed*  
kumarla, *kuma together*  
warnkurla *elbow*, warnku *bend*

-rlarla: tyawarlarla *whisper*, Ny tyawa *mouth*

<sup>1</sup>This last term has a very wide distribution throughout Western Australia. See the Dictionary and also Worms 1937-38:461.

<sup>2</sup>As was pointed out in 3.1.2.1.1, ngunhaa sometimes appears to mean *that one*, suggesting that -ra here means *one*. However, in *nhaa this* (from *nhu-* + -ra) -ra seems to function as a nominative case marker (see 3.1.2.1.2), while in *walaa-*, oblique stem of *wala that (mid-distant)*, it is clear that -ra does not mean anything.

<sup>3</sup>Somewhere in Bates n.d. I saw the lenited form *thungkayi*.

- rll: marrarli, Pn marra *wing*  
 wlrrarli *collarbone*, wlrra *boomerang*<sup>1</sup>  
 yutyurli *Schomburgk's skink*, yutyu *small turd*

See also first example under -rla.

- rlu: marlurlu *bark target*, marlumarlu *species of tree*  
 puwarlu *rotten like wood*, puwa *rotten like food*

- rlurlu: plnhtharlurlu *muddy*, pinhtha *wet sloppy mud*  
 tyuurlurlu *with head down*, Tj tyuru *head*

- rn: karrarnmarra *thick scrub*, karra *scrub*, -marra  
 UNPRODUCTIVE SUFFIX  
 karrwarn *summer*, Ku karrwu *sun*, Nl karrpu *summer*

-rr: This suffix is homophonous with an unproductive agent suffix (see preceding section). Some words in which it occurs follow:

- martarr *red ochre*, marta *blood*  
 thartarr *pocket gorge*, tharta *closed*  
 tyurlarr *milkweed pod*, tyurlawirtlnyplrtiny  
*Sturt's desert pea*

-rr-: This suffix, like -Ø- discussed above, is a variant of -t (see below). See O'Grady 1966:88-89 for some relevant historical information and note the following examples:

- kayarrka *redwood*, kayawayl *orange caper*,  
 -ka CONTENTLESS SUFFIX  
 maarrrka *preying mantis*, mara *hand*

-rra: This suffix is homophonous with the causal suffix (see 3.2.1.1.1) and an irregular plural number marker (see 3.1.1.2.1) as well as the dubitative clitic (see 3.2.2.3). Consider the examples listed below:

<sup>1</sup>See Alpher 1972:82.

kurarra *native mesquite*, kura *spiderflower*<sup>1</sup>  
 kurnarra *black ash*, kurna *charcoal*  
 mararra *index finger*,<sup>2</sup> mara *hand*  
 parturra *plain turkey*, partu *feather*  
 tyampurra *left-handed implement*, tyampu *left (hand)*

-rri: This suffix is homophonous with an irregular plural number marker (see 3.1.1.2.1). Some examples of its use are given below:

kunytyirri, Nm kunytyimu *one*<sup>3</sup>  
 thaarri *vagina*, thaa *mouth*  
 tyiirri, WD tii *spark*

-rrirri: This suffix is clearly monomorphemic and not the result of the reduplication of -rri (see directly above). This must be the case, because there exists a co-occurrence restriction on rr across morpheme boundary, when a short vowel intervenes (see 2.1.2.3). The existence of monomorphemic -rrirri provides a rationale for considering -lili, -mama, -rlarla, -rlurlu, -rtirti and -rturtu (see elsewhere) to be unitary morphemes as well.<sup>4</sup> In neither of the two words which contain the suffix -rrirri (see immediately below) can the root be independently isolated on the basis of present information.

minpirrirri *kestrel*  
 wiirrirri *fairy wren*<sup>5</sup>

-rru: This suffix is homophonous with the allative locative suffix (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). There is only one good example, documenting the existence of this suffix, that is

wungkurru *roaring noise such as that made by the wind*,  
 wungku *windbreak*

-rta: This suffix is homophonous with the locative case marker for retroflex nouns (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). Note the following examples in which it occurs:

<sup>1</sup>According to Gilbert Bobby, the kurarra or Pied Piper bush, which is similar to mesquite, closely resembles the kura tree (*Grevillea pyramidalis*).

<sup>2</sup>Some people like Gilbert Bobby insist that mararra means *thumb*. But see ngangkaanyu in the Dictionary.

<sup>3</sup>On the form kunytyimu, see also section 3.3.3.

<sup>4</sup>However, consider the following related terms: Ngarluma punhamama, Yindjibarndi punhamali *randy*, punha *sexual desire*.

<sup>5</sup>The root in this term is apparently a lenited form of wiri- (see Serventy and Whittell 1976:345).



pularta *heart*, pula *ball*, lump  
 kurrurta *dead still*, Ku kurru *dead*  
 ngawurtan *miniature cucumber*, ngawurr *bubble*  
 -n CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

-rti: pirrirti *fibula (slender bone found in the leg)*,  
 pirrii *slender like a toothpick*  
 Thuthurti *name of a certain dog that lived*  
*during the dreamtime*, Ma thuthu *dog*  
 tyarrwurti, Tr tyarrku *three*

-rtirti: wirnkartirti *music and song*, wirnka *whistle*

-rtu: This suffix is homophonous with the instrumental case marker for retroflex nouns (see 3.1.1.2.2.1) and also with two different clitics (see 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.3). Consider the following examples:

mirrurtu *cradle*, mirru *woomera*  
 murturtu, Nm murtumurtu *overly seasoned*  
 tyinartu *through, past*, tyina *foot*

-rturtu: Evidence to support the existence of this suffix is not good, because it only appears in one word (see below), where it is difficult to isolate the root.

nyankarturtu *man's kilt*

But see also discussion under -rrirri further above.

-ru: karlaru *species of stinging catfish*, karla *fire*  
 ngawaru *boy just about ready to be initiated*,  
 ngawarra *unknowing*  
 yathuu (cf. Nm, Pn yalhuru) *tongue*, yathurnrtaa-  
 (VL) *lick*

It is possible that in certain instances (e.g., see the first example presented above) -ru is the reflex of an obsolete instrumental case marker (see O'Grady and others 1966:110), which was once paired with the unproductive locative case marker mentioned under -ra (see above). Compare the following sets of paired locative/instrumental case markers: -ngka/-ngku, -la/-lu, -rta/-rtu (see 3.1.1.2.2.1). Also compare the derivation and function of the unproductive suffix -payi (see preceding section).

-t: This suffix is homophonous with a locative case marker (see 3.1.1.2.2.1) and also with an unproductive suffix meaning *one*

(see 3.2.1.1.2). It appears in the terms shown below:

- mirnat *ready*, mirna *a while*  
 punytyat *dew*, Nl punytya- *drink*
- tha: pirtitha *white cockatoo*, pirtirra *dry leaf*  
 yarrwatha *sweat*, yarrwayi *species of tobacco*  
*growing near water*
- thu: kuuthu *tadpole*, kuruuru *fat and round* (cf. Pn  
 kurukuru), Ma kuru *eye*, Nm seed
- ty: kangkaty, Nm kangkany *loose*  
 pirtimantaty *makeshift cloth belt*, pirti *false*,  
 manta- (VØ) *put on a belt*
- tya: karlantya *scorpion*, karla *fire*, -n CONTENTLESS SUFFIX  
 thaarriya *priest in charge of children's increase*  
*site*, thaarri *vagina*
- tyi: kanaty *lightning bolt*, kana *clear*  
 murrityi *tail of an emu*, murru back<sup>1</sup>  
 papui *woman's brother's child*,<sup>2</sup> papu *father*  
 yuraty *small twigs and leaves used to start*  
*a fire, tinder*, yurra *sun*
- tyu: karlutyuu,<sup>3</sup> Nm karlikuru *dove*  
 kumputyutya *spinifex roach*,<sup>4</sup> Nm kumpu *urine*  
 -tya CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

<sup>1</sup>On the change of u to i see section 2.2.6.

<sup>2</sup>This suffix evidently occurs in a number of kinship terms, e.g. thamii *mother's father* (= Ny tyamutyi, cf. WD tyamu), kamayi *mother's mother*, nhakaty *spouse in the wrong section*.

<sup>3</sup>The source of this form is evidently \*karlityuru. Compare the Ngarluma partial cognate and see also Serventy and Whittel 1976:260. The observed form arises in the following manner: First \*-r- lenites to nothing (see 2.2.10), leading to the formation of a long vowel (see 2.2.13), and then \*i evidently assimilates to the quality of this long vowel (contrast 2.2.6).

<sup>4</sup>Harold Ned described this insect as 'a watery bug living in the spinifex'. This bit of information suggests that the name for this beetle is indeed based upon the Common Australian for 'urine'. See also Hale 1960:232, where the Ngarluma word for *spinifex roach* is given as kumpukumpura. Note what he records about the bug's behaviour.

### 3.2.2. Clitics

A clitic is a kind of word ending, which has the ability to attach itself to indeclineables (as well as nominals) and to transform free nouns, pronouns and verb stems into indeclineables. Clitics follow a very rigid order, when being attached to a word. See the chart entitled 'List of Clitics by Order of Attachment'. To the best of my knowledge, this ordering is never violated.<sup>1</sup> Now let us turn to a discussion of these clitics and their functions. Each will be taken up in the order in which it appears in the chart.

#### List of Clitics by Order of Attachment

0.	-ku, -yl	OBJECTIVE CASE MARKERS
	-ku, -Ø	PRESENT TENSE MARKERS
	-nha, -rna, -na	CLASSIFIERS / PAST TENSE MARKERS
	-tu (-rru-), -rtu	ONE
1.	-mpa	TOPIC CLITIC
	-mu	ANAPHORIC CLITIC
	-nta	INTERROGATIVE CLITIC
	-nyu	TRUTH CLITIC
	-parlu	INTENSIFIER
	-purtaa	SEQUENCE CLITIC
2.	-purtu	CATEGORIAL CLITIC
	-rra	DUBITATIVE CLITIC
	-rtu	CONTRAST CLITIC
3.	-pa	EMPHATIC CLITIC
4.	-yhu (-yu)	DETERMINER
	-yi	DEICTIC CLITIC

#### 3.2.2.1. 0th Order Clitics

As I have already remarked in the preceding section, 0th order clitics consist almost entirely of inflectional endings. Since these types of endings have already been discussed under 3.1.1.2.2 and

<sup>1</sup>Examples like *Purlumpanha Booloomba Pool* in which clitics appear in reverse order are not exceptions. In this particular case the topic clitic -mpa is attached to a bound stem, not a free word. The resulting free word is then classified as a proper noun, because it is the name of a pool and hence is entitled to take the classifier which is appropriate to proper nouns. See also 3.3.3.

3.1.4.2, they need not be considered again here. Only -tu (-rru-)<sup>1</sup> and -rtu are clearly not inflectional endings and therefore need to have a few words spoken about them. The former occurs with the two pronouns *nhaa this* and *ngunhaa that*, for example *ngunhaatu that one*,<sup>2</sup> while the latter apparently only occurs with *wala(a-) that (mid-distant)*. Now even though -tu and -rtu are not really inflections, they behave very much like them, having very well-defined distributions like the classifiers -na and -rna to which they may be compared.<sup>3</sup> Also note that -na and -rna may mean *one*, for example *ngunhaana that one* (see 3.1.2.1.3).

### 3.2.2.2. 1st Order Clitics

TOPIC CLITIC -mpa: The topic clitic can usually be translated as *that's what I'm talking about* as it is in

Ngunhaatumpa<sup>4</sup>  
that-ONE-TOP  
*That's the one I'm talking about.*

In the following example -mpa is required in order to assure the hearer that the dual suffix -kuyha is not to be taken as redundant with respect to *kuyharra*:

kuyharrauyhampa  
two-DU-TOP  
*four*

Therefore, here it probably means more like *that's what I said*. In this regard consider the meaning of -mpa in *ngunhaarrumpa*, a doublet to the penultimate example, as it occurs in the last line in Text 77.

The topic clitic is a reasonably important one as it often serves as the base for the attachment of 2nd order clitics (which see).

<sup>1</sup>When -tu is followed by another clitic, it may lenite (2.2.10) to -rru-. Compare, for example, Text 72, paragraph 2, sentence 5 with Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 11 and also see the next section under the anaphoric clitic -mpa.

<sup>2</sup>-tu also occurs with bound stems of the plural forms of the demonstrative pronouns, that is *nhungkaatu these ones*, *walaangkaatu those (mid-distant) ones*, *ngunhungkaatu, ngunhaangkaatu those ones*.

<sup>3</sup>However, it is also possible to compare -tu and -rtu with the synonymous derivational suffixes -t and -rt (see 3.2.1.1.2).

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, Text 3, sentence 2 and Text 55, sentence 10.

ANAPHORIC CLITIC -mu: This clitic is a very complex one. It has the ability to change its orientation by 180°<sup>1</sup> and is the only clitic which can follow itself. These bizarre properties it exhibits make it a most interesting clitic.

As its name suggests, this clitic can be used anaphorically to mean *previously mentioned*.<sup>2</sup> However, it basically means *back*. The Texts contain many examples<sup>3</sup> of it being used in this manner. One especially interesting one is

ngartimu<sup>4</sup>  
then-ANA  
again

There is one example in which -mu plus the locative suffix means *past*. It is

nyarringkamu  
rim-LOC-ANA  
overflowing

In a temporal domain -mu essentially means *before*.<sup>5</sup> This sense comes through most clearly in terms like

ngurranyutyungkamu<sup>6</sup>  
earth-soft-LOC-ANA  
before when the earth was soft

in which it follows the locative suffix.<sup>7</sup> Consider also the following sentence:

Pawawarrimartalamu, ngayl ngarrlmarta.  
water-PRIV-LOC-ANA I lie-HAB  
Before when there wasn't any water there, I used to camp there.

<sup>1</sup>Compare the suffix -rni, which means *from* in yaarni *from the east*, but *to* in wanhtharni *where to*.

<sup>2</sup>See, for example, Text 72, paragraph 2, sentence 2; Text 74, paragraph 3, sentence 1; and Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 9.

<sup>3</sup>See Text 70, sentence 5; Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 5; Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 7; and Text 76, paragraph 2, sentences 9 and 12.

<sup>4</sup>See Text 74, paragraph 3, sentence 1 and Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 8.

<sup>5</sup>Note, however, that in the two examples which immediately follow, the anaphoric clitic can still be translated as *back*.

<sup>6</sup>This term occurs in the first sentence of most of the Sacred Texts. The Yindjibarndi regard the term 'dreamtime' as an English expression. See also the Dictionary under 'manguny'.

<sup>7</sup>See also purlutmu in the Dictionary. In Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 3, there could be an example in which -mu doesn't follow the locative case marker but still means *before*. However, in this context -mu could just as well mean *back*.

However, in the following pair of terms, which demonstrate that -mu can follow itself, a somewhat different translation is required:

palamu<sup>1</sup>  
*remote point in time-LOC-ANA*  
*long ago*

palamumu<sup>2</sup>  
*long ago-ANA*  
*long long ago*

And in the two examples shown immediately below, the anaphoric clitic and the preceding locative case marker must be translated together as *after*:<sup>3</sup>

warrungkamu  
*night-LOC-ANA*  
*tomorrow*

warruwarrulam  
*dark-LOC-ANA*  
*first light*

-mu may also be used to indicate past tense with the optative mood marker<sup>4</sup> (see 3.1.4.2.2). In this regard consider the following:

Parniyaamu nhungulampa.  
*sit-OPT-ANA adjacent-LOC-TOP*  
*Someone might have been sitting here.*

Note further that the terms muntiyaamu and ngartiyaamu seem to occur only in reference to past actions. For examples including the former term see 4.2.5.

INTERROGATIVE CLITIC -nta: This is a relatively unimportant clitic. It is occasionally used to indicate 'yes-or-no' questions (see 4.2.2.2), which are normally identified only by a rising intonation pattern (see 2.3.3). It is also employed to translate the English conjunction 'whether' (see 4.2.7).

TRUTH CLITIC -nyu: Another somewhat rare clitic. It may be observed following the causal suffix -rra, when the latter is being used to indicate a 'because' clause, in order to assure the listener

<sup>1</sup>See, for example, Text 75, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

<sup>2</sup>For example, see the first sentence in Text 73.

<sup>3</sup>Compare the situation discussed above in which they mean 'past'.

<sup>4</sup>Evidently, it may also be used to indicate past tense in verbless clauses. See von Brandenstein 1970:210.

that the reason being given is a true one (see 4.2.4.5). -nyu also occurs in the term *thampanyu* but *really* (see Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 16). Note that it is not demonstrable using the data just presented that -nyu is in fact a clitic rather than a suffix. However, it is apparent to me that this word ending is cognate with quotative -nyu of the Western Desert language(s), which is treated by Douglas (1964:119-121) as an encliticised particle (see also 3.3.5).

INTENSIFIER -parlu: In most of its occurrences this intensifying clitic possesses a transparent meaning. Compare the meanings of the following pairs of antonyms in which it appears: *mirtawarlu not at all, never*<sup>1</sup> (*mirta not*) / *tyuntaaparlu always*<sup>2</sup> (*tyuntaa this way*) and *yurluwarlu nothing at all*<sup>3</sup> (*yurlu nothing*) / *tyuluwarlu absolutely everything*<sup>4</sup> (*tyulu all*). See also Text 76, paragraph 6, sentence 5, including footnote. However, when it occurs with *munti* in sentences where *munti* must be rendered *that's how it came about that*, it is not really clear how to translate it.<sup>5</sup> In Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 4, -parlu in lenited form appears to mean *very*. This suggests that it may be derived from the indeclineable *parla very, hard* (see 3.3.5).

SEQUENCE CLITIC -purtaa: This clitic basically means *turn* as in *your turn* (see Text 50, sentence 3). When it occurs with the objective case of *murna close*, loosely *this*,<sup>6</sup> it can mean *time* as in the following example provided by Long Mack:

Nyinta yirraamakayi murnayiwurtaa.  
 you sing-POT close-OBJ-TURN  
 You sing this time.

However, in most cases *murnayiwurtaa* is better rendered *in return* (see Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 12, and von Brandenstein 1970:205). In von Brandenstein 1970:222, -purtaa is found attached to a verb, where it apparently means *next*<sup>7</sup> or *then*.

<sup>1</sup>See Text 15, sentence 1 and Text 42, sentence 5.

<sup>2</sup>As in Ngayi pangkarrimarta *tyuntaaparlu I always go*.

<sup>3</sup>See Text 45, sentence 4.

<sup>4</sup>See Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 14.

<sup>5</sup>See, for example, Text 70, sentence 2; Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 4; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 21 and paragraph 5, sentence 8.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. *murnakuyu this side*.

<sup>7</sup>Also consider the following sentence: *Yurtarrlnypurtaa yirraamakayi. Gilbert Bobby will sing next*.

## 3.2.2.3. 2nd Order Clitics

CATEGORIAL CLITIC -purtu: This is a straight-forward clitic, meaning *kind, sort, type*. It is usually found attached to the free stem *paya* as is shown in the following phrase:

payawurtu      wanytya  
vicious-SORT dog  
vicious (sort of) dog

*Paya* is rarely observed standing on its own.<sup>1</sup> -purtu also occurs in the interrogative pronoun *nganiwurtu* *what kind*. When the categorial clitic is combined with the topic clitic and a plural suffix, a complex ending meaning *different types of* is produced (see Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 5). See also 3.1.1.2.1.

DUBITATIVE CLITIC -rra: The dubitative clitic, which indicates unsureness as its name suggests, seems to appear only rarely. When it occurs with indeclineables, it is found directly attached. Consider the example shown immediately below:

Wanka      ngartarra.  
not ripe still-DUB  
It's still green, I think.

Otherwise, it is preceded by the topic clitic as illustrated in the following example:

Yaalamparra pangkarrii.  
now-TOP-DUB go-POT  
I guess I'll go now.

Evidently, this is to prevent it from being confused with the homophonous causal suffix (see 3.2.1.1.1).

I suspect that the dubitative clitic is a lenited form of -\*ta and that it is related to the interrogative clitic -nta (see preceding section), which is apparently a prenasalised version of it. On the use of -mparra in questions, see the last paragraph in section 4.2.2.2.

CONTRAST CLITIC -rtu: As its name implies, the contrast clitic indicates contrast between the word to which it is attached and some other one, which is not always stated.<sup>2</sup> This clitic does not appear to be used very much in ordinary speech, but consider the following exchange between myself and Gilbert Bobby:

<sup>1</sup>But see Text 22, sentence 4.

<sup>2</sup>In this regard see Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10.



Nyinta kanytyaku ngaarnrtu ngamayiu?  
 you have-PRES my tobacco-OBJ  
 Do you have my tobacco?

Mirta! Ngayi kanytyaku ngaarnrtuumpartu ngamayiu.  
 no I have-PRES my-OBJ-TOP-CONTRA tobacco-OBJ  
 No! I have my own tobacco.

It does, however, occur with fair frequency in the higher-numbered Sacred Texts.<sup>1</sup>

Note that -rtu is homophonous with one of the 0th order clitics.

### 3.2.2.4. 3rd Order Clitics

EMPHATIC CLITIC -pa. The emphatic clitic is one of the most widely used clitics in the language. It occurs with nouns and pronouns (uninflected or not), indeclineables and conjugated verb stems, where it is ordinarily used to express emphasis. Examples of its use in this function can be found everywhere throughout the Texts. Therefore, no such examples need to be presented here.

The emphatic clitic also possesses two less important functions. The first is to translate the English suffix '-time'<sup>2</sup> as, for example,<sup>3</sup> in

karrwarnpa  
 summer-EMP  
 summertime

and

muyhuwa  
 winter-EMP  
 wintertime

The second is to indicate inceptive and cessational action.<sup>4</sup> Consider the following examples,<sup>5</sup> which were provided by Gilbert Bobby and Harold and Cheedy Ned, respectively:

<sup>1</sup>See Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4; Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10 and paragraph 6, sentence 12; Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 11 and paragraph 3, sentence 16; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 7.

<sup>2</sup>Compare Donaldson 1977:142-43.

<sup>3</sup>See also Text 62, paragraph 2, sentence 1 and Text 66, paragraph 2, sentence 1 for examples involving the locative case and consider the following sentence, courtesy of Gilbert Bobby: Ngayi mirta purpi muyhuwa. *I don't like wintertime.*

<sup>4</sup>For another way to indicate inceptive action, see Text 50. See also Text 72, where both methods are demonstrated.

<sup>5</sup>Contrast them with the one found in Text 65, paragraph 1, sentence 2, where the emphatic clitic obviously only indicates emphasis.

Ngayi ngarrkuwa.<sup>1</sup>  
 I eat-PRES-EMP  
 I am starting to eat.

Ngayi yurrarna. Mirtawa yurrarna.  
 I dig-PAST not-EMP dig-PAST  
 I was digging. I stopped digging.

### 3.2.2.5. 4th Order Clitics

DETERMINER -yhu varying with -yu:<sup>2</sup> Examples of this clitic are numerous in the Texts, especially in numbers 75 and 76. Generally, it translates into English as *the* or *certain, particular*. However, other meanings are also encountered. For example, when it is used in conjunction with murrirni *behind, after*, it possesses the same meaning as the pronoun ngunhu *that; he, she, it*<sup>3</sup> and when it is attached to munti *really*, it produces a superlativiser (see 4.2.6). The determiner can also mean *if* or *then* (see 4.2.4.5).

DEICTIC CLITIC -yi: Only three sure<sup>4</sup> examples of the deictic (demonstrative) clitic occur in my data, all of them in Text 75. The clearest example is found in paragraph 2, sentence 3, which see. However, the other two examples (see paragraph 5, sentence 7 and paragraph 6, sentence 9) are valuable in establishing the clitic nature of this word ending, for in them -yi follows the emphatic clitic.

Note that the deictic clitic is homophonous with an objective case marker and also a vocative suffix.

## 3.3. Interrelationships

### 3.3.1. Nominalisation

Verb stems may be nominalised in one of two ways, by inflection or by derivation. In either case the product is a *common* noun and it is

<sup>1</sup>Compare Text 21, sentence 2.

<sup>2</sup>This variant form only occurs twice in the Texts, once in Text 21, sentence 3 and one in Text 49, sentence 7. It is also found in Hale's Kurrama field notes (1959b:47) and, therefore, may be a borrowing. However, note that the morpheme separator in Yindjibarndi is sometimes manifested as -y- and sometimes as -yh- in the speech of a single individual.

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 4 and Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 1.

<sup>4</sup>However, see also the last footnote to Text 2 and under 'nganiwayi' in the Dictionary.

treated accordingly. Verb stems which are inflected for mood or aspect (see 3.1.4.2) become nouns, because the markers employed to represent these categories are suffixes. Tense markers will not produce nouns, because they are clitics (see 3.3.3). There are also a few purely derivational suffixes which can be attached to verb stems. These are inceptive *-ny* and the set of mutually related suffixes *-punhtharri*, *-npunhtharri* and *-rnpunhtharri*, meaning *thing for* (see 3.2.1.1.1) as well as the agent suffixes *-ra* and *-rr*<sup>1</sup> (see 3.2.1.1.2).

There are no productive means by which nouns can be produced from indeclineables. By definition, indeclineables cannot take suffixes,<sup>2</sup> only clitics, and therefore they can only give rise to more indeclineables. However, there are a few nouns in Yindjibarndi, the structure of which suggests that they were once indeclineables which have been arbitrarily nominalised. For example, the proper noun *Kurnaana Spirit Mountain* looks as if it were patterned according to the structure of the indeclineable pronoun *ngunhaana that one*, where *ngunhu that* is the base, which has been augmented by a suffix *-ra*, and *-na* a classifier for such augmented pronouns (see 3.2.2.1). In *Kurnaana* there is surely a root *kurna charcoal*,<sup>3</sup> apparently followed by the suffix *-ra*, followed again by the clitic *-na*. Perhaps this noun was once a member of the same class as *ngunhaa* (see 3.1.2.1.3), but then got moved into the proper noun class together with its classifier.<sup>4</sup> Compare *Parnrturrarna Venus*, a common noun which appears to end in the classifier clitic for the retroflex noun class (see 3.1.1.2.2.1).

As has already been suggested in 3.1.2.1.4, pronouns for the most part constitute a special category within that part of speech called

<sup>1</sup>I did not mention the set of productive agent suffixes *-marta*, *-nmarta* and *-rnmarta* here, because it appears that they are closely related to or even identical with the habitual aspect markers and hence are not purely derivational. See also the discussions on the productive suffix *-nyaa* and the unproductive suffixes *-nu*, *-rnu*, *-wayi* and *-yaa*.

<sup>2</sup>The common pronoun *ngaliya we two* appears to be derived from the indeclineable pronoun *ngali you and I* by means of a suffix *-ya*. However, this is just a typical irregularity associated with pronoun morphology (see also 3.1.2.1.4). The derivation is clearly not regular. For example, note that *ngali* plus suffix *-uu* produces another indeclineable pronoun *ngaliuu several of us including you*.

<sup>3</sup>Mountains are generally thought to be *warrura dark* (see, for example, Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 4), a term built on *warru*, the word for *black*. Cf. also *Kurnapuka Goonabooka Pool*, *Blackfellow's Pool*.

<sup>4</sup>The reader should also be aware of the fact that there exists a term *ngunhthaa(na) that place* (cf. *ngunhthi way over there*), which is structured like *ngunhaa(na)*, but does not decline at all.

'noun'.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, there would seem to be little point in discussing the nominalisation of pronouns. However, it might be worth mentioning here that I have never observed a pronoun become a noun in the course of derivation.<sup>2</sup> For example, one can take the interrogative pronoun *ngani what*, verbalise it using an inchoative verbaliser, producing the verb stem *nganiwarni-* (VØ) *what happen*, and finally inflect it for perfective aspect by employing a nominalising case marker. The result is *nganiwarnaa yi why*, another interrogative pronoun (see 3.1.2.2).

### 3.3.2. Verbalisation

Nouns can be verbalised in either of two ways - by means of a verbaliser or without a verbaliser. We have already discussed verbalisers in connection with nouns in 3.1.4.1.2.2.2. Therefore, we do not need to say anything further here except that verbalisers may be used with pronouns as well. Note the following examples:

*nyintawarni-* (VØ) *it be you* (see Hale 1959a:136), *nhaawarni-* (VØ) *this be it*,<sup>3</sup> *nganiwarni-* (VØ) *what happen*<sup>4</sup> and *nganima-* (VL) *do what*.<sup>5</sup>

It generally seems to be the case that, when a noun is verbalised without the use of a verbaliser, the product is a Ø-stem verb, for example, *tyanti-* (VØ) *cough* (cf. *tyanti* (NC) *cough*). However, sometimes a non-Ø-stem verb is produced. Consider *nhaungarra-* (VR) *watch over, look after* (cf. *nhaungarra* (NC) *look out*).<sup>6</sup> And on occasion it can go both ways. Consider the very interesting cognate set, consisting of *kampa-* (NC) *cook(ing)* (cf. *kampayarnrtu stove*), *kampa-* (VØ) *be cooking*, *kampa-* (VL) *cook*, in which both types of verb stem are evidently derived from the bound noun stem without the benefit of verbalisers.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A few pronouns are innately indeclineable (see 3.1.3) and all can be *made* indeclineable by the addition of clitics (see 3.3.3).

<sup>2</sup>That is not to say that pronouns do not occur in compound nouns. See, for example, *ngunhthuuyu that side* in the Dictionary.

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, Text 77, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

<sup>4</sup>For examples see 4.2.2.2.

<sup>5</sup>See preceding footnote.

<sup>6</sup>This noun is itself interesting from the standpoint of the interrelationship between nouns and verbs. It is a compound consisting of the common noun *nhau look* (cf. the verbalised form *nhau-* (VØ) *look*), which is the reflex of the present tense of the Proto-Ngayardic verb stem *\*nha-* (VØ) *look* plus *ngarra* (NC) *view*.

<sup>7</sup>Also compare *manta-* (NC) *bind* (cf. *mantarrangu stringy plant which entwines itself in the spinifex*, *pirtimantaty kind of makeshift belt*), *manta-* (VØ) *encircle oneself*, *manta-* (VL) *snare*.

### 3.3.3. Indeclineablisation

Verb stems become indeclineables, when they are inflected with tense markers (see 3.1.4.2). Likewise, free noun and pronoun stems are converted into indeclineables by the attachment of clitics. These clitics can be inflectional as in the instance of the objective case markers or they can be non-inflectional as with other non-0th order clitics (see 3.2.2). Bound noun and pronoun stems, on the other hand, behave in a very unusual manner. When a clitic is attached to such a stem, the result is a noun or pronoun, respectively! Consider the following examples,<sup>1</sup> which illustrate this particular point:

kunytyimu (NC) *single, solitary, alone, only* =  
 kunytyi- *one* (cf. kunytyirri *one*) + -mu  
 ANAPHORIC CLITIC<sup>2</sup>

Purlumpa (NP) *Booloomba Pool (the first pool one comes to upon entering Yindjibarndi territory when heading upstream from the coast)* = purlu-  
*face, front* (cf. purlumarri *face-to-face*,  
 purlaa *in front*) + -mpa TOPIC CLITIC<sup>3</sup>

wanhthinha (PC) *which one* = wanhthi- (PP) *which*  
 (cf. wanhthila *where*) + -nha PROPER (PRO)NOUN  
 CLASSIFIER<sup>4</sup>

wanhthiwa (PC) *how do* = wanhthi- (see immediately  
 above) + -pa EMPHATIC CLITIC<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>I was tempted to also list nyinkupurrungu, the objective case of nyintauu *you* (PL) among them. Note that this form is built upon nyinku (= nyin- *you* + -ku OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER), the objective case of nyinta *you* (SG). However, pronoun morphology is often extremely irregular anyway (see 3.1.2.1.4), so I decided that it was best to leave it out.

<sup>2</sup>This example is annoying. My informants tell me that kunytyimu is the Ngarluma word for *one* (= Yindjibarndi kunytyirri). Moreover, in Ngarluma the anaphoric clitic is -lli, not -mu, meaning that this example is entirely irrelevant, if kunytyimu is in fact a borrowing. Note, however, that kunytyimu does not mean *one* in Yindjibarndi (see also O'Grady and others 1966:95).

<sup>3</sup>The following words also appear to be derived from a bound noun stem plus the topic clitic: kurlimpa (NC) *tea tree* (cf. Ngarluma kurlipirn), kurtampaa (NC) *old (thing)* (cf. Ngarluma kurtampara *old*, Nyamal kurta *older brother*), mirrimpa (NC) *native fiddle* (cf. mirrili *loud clear noise*), thampa (PC) *what about it* (cf. Pailgu tyarni *where*).

<sup>4</sup>This clitic can mean *one*. See 3.1.1.2.2.1 under nominative case.

<sup>5</sup>The salutation wanhthiwa is generally pronounced very emphatically indeed.

The reader may also wish to refer back to section 3.1.3 for some historical information in reference to the indeclineablisation of pronouns.

### 3.3.4. Sources of Certain Suffixes

Eight suffixes appear to be derived from nouns. One of them, namely -kuyha is a dual number marker (see, for example, 3.1.1.2.1), four others, that is -karlaa, -kula, -parrimarta and -winyangu, are productive suffixes (see 3.2.1.1.1), while the remainder, -man, -pala and -tyirri, are unproductive (see 3.2.1.1.2). These suffixes are presented below in alphabetical order with cognate elements, which suggest their sources, listed after them:

- karlaa PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX (*having*): Ngarluma
- karlira PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX, Yindjibarndi -ra
- LOCATIVE CASE MARKER, karlima- (VL) *keep*,
- ma- (VL) FACTITIVE VERBALISER
- kula *both*: Ngarluma -pula in nyintapula *you* (DUAL),
- nyinta *you*, Western Desert -pula, pula *they two, both*
- kuyha DUAL NUMBER MARKER: kuyharra *two*, -rra
- CONTENTLESS SUFFIX
- man *person, thing*: English man
- pala BORROWED ADJECTIVE SUFFIX: English fellow
- parrimarta PRIVATIVE SUFFIX (*lacking, without*):
- Pandjima, Pailgu -pati PRIVATIVE SUFFIX, Nyungar
- pati! *no!*
- tyirri *sticking out*: tyirri *prickle*
- winyangu *full of*: winya *full*, -ngu CONTENTLESS SUFFIX

### 3.3.5. Sources of Certain Clitics

The origin of one<sup>1</sup> clitic can be traced to a part of speech. This clitic is the intensifier -parlu (see 3.2.2.2). It appears to have developed from the indeclineable parla *very* with which it is approximately synonymous. There is a difference in quality of the final

<sup>1</sup>But see also Douglas 1964:119 for information regarding a possible source for the truth clitic -nyu. Then consider a possible relationship between the interrogative clitic -nta and the interrogative particle munta, which occur in different dialects of the Western Desert language (Douglas 1964:119-20; O'Grady and others 1966:153, 159).

vowel, but such a difference is not crucial. Compare, for example, the variation in vowel quality within the following obvious cognate set: Yindjibarndi *wala*, Nyangumarda *pala*, Ngarluma *palu that (mid-distant)*. The distribution of *parla* tends to support this claim. Unlike all other indeclineables, it always precedes the noun it modifies (see 4.1.4). This means that *parla* is, in a certain sense, in complementary distribution with *-parlu*.

#### 4. SYNTAX

##### 4.1. Phrases

##### 4.1.1. Noun Phrases

##### 4.1.1.1. Structure and Function

##### 4.1.1.1.1. Structure

Noun phrases consist of a head plus modifiers. The modifiers, like the head itself, are nouns and in the norminative situation, they have adjectival meaning, stipulating number, colour, temperature, size, etc. For example,

kunytyirri warrayi  
one fly  
one fly

yawarta martamarta  
horse red  
chestnut horse

kurlu pawa  
hot water  
hot water

Phrases, containing more than one such descriptive modifier are not common. But note the following example:<sup>1</sup>

kupitya warnrta kuta  
small plant short  
little bitty plant

Sometimes one modifier is a demonstrative pronoun, such as *nhaa this* or *ngunhu that*. On rare occasions one may even find an indeclineable functioning as a modifier for a noun. For example:

parla yankarr  
hard noise  
loud noise

However, more frequently indeclineables modify another modifier,

<sup>1</sup>The complete sentence from which this example was taken can be found in a footnote to the relevant part of 4.1.4.

for example,

parla munti yankarr  
*very loud noise*  
*very loud noise*

or the modifier of a modifier, for example,

parla munti pawa yarta  
*very really water plenty*  
*really really a lot of water*

Compare the example presented immediately above, which was given by Long Mack, with Text 63, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

It is difficult to discriminate nouns which modify by inalienable possession<sup>1</sup> from those which simply modify adjectively. For example, in the phrases ngungkumarnta ngaarta *strong man* and payawurtu wanytya *vicious dog* the modifiers are not in fact adjectival. Ngungkumarnta is a compound consisting of the bound morphemes, meaning *strength* and *weight*<sup>2</sup> and thus obviously must be inalienably possessing the noun it modifies. Similarly, payawurtu consists of the noun paya meaning *fierceness or ferocity*<sup>3</sup> plus the categorial clitic which can be translated as *sort*. Again, the relationship between modifier and head is one of inalienable possession.

#### 4.1.1.1.2. Function

A noun phrase can function within the context of a sentence in all the ways that a single noun can (see 3.1.1.2.2.2). Thus, we can rightly expect to find noun phrases in all cases, including nominative, objective, genitive, allative, locative, ablative, comitative and instrumental. The reader should keep in mind that ideally all the nominal and pronominal constituents in a phrase are marked in parallel by the relevant case marker.<sup>4</sup> However, in actual situations one can observe that often only a single item is so marked, the rest appearing in the nominative case.<sup>5</sup> This point was made explicit to me by Gilbert Bobby, when he told me that the locative case of the phrase

<sup>1</sup>For an in-depth discussion on inalienable possession, see 4.1.1.2.

<sup>2</sup>Compare the meanings of ngungku- and -ma(rn)rta in the respective terms ngungkuwarrimarta *weak* and martama- *put weight on*. Use the Dictionary.

<sup>3</sup>This meaning is apparent in the term payamalu. See the Dictionary.

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, Text 23, sentence 1; Text 39; Text 59, sentence 5; Text 60, sentence 1; and Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 2. And also 4.2.3.

<sup>5</sup>If the phrase is functioning as the direct object of the verb, then all the nominal constituents may be in the nominative case. See under 3.1.1.2.2.2.



mina paru *soft spinifex*<sup>1</sup> can be expressed in any of the following three ways: minangka paru, mina parungka or minangka parungka. All possibilities are equally correct. If the reader cares to take the time to read through the Texts, he will find that the other oblique cases are affected similarly.

#### 4.1.1.2. Inalienable Possession

Inalienable possession is based upon the premise that something which is part of something else *is* that something else and, therefore, cannot be possessed by it. Thus, in stating a possessive relationship between two things which are deemed<sup>2</sup> to be inalienable, one must use a verb stem meaning *be* or none at all (see 4.2.1) and not *kanytya-* (VL) *have* nor the proprietive suffix *-karlaa having*. So, for example, in the Yindjibarndi language a person can 'have' a hat (see Text 8), but he can only 'be' a head! In phrasal constructions, which we will be mostly concerned with here, inalienable possession is demonstrated by the omission of the genitive case marker *-arnrtu*, which indicates alienable possession. Hence one says 'My hat', but 'I head' (see first example below). Inalienable possession does not operate below the level of the phrase.<sup>3</sup>

In Yindjibarndi, inalienable possession governs the relationship which exists between a person (on one hand) and all his body parts,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The phrase literally means *soft spinifex (hard) spinifex*. See the Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup>I say this, because what is actually considered to be inalienable varies from language to language. For example, see Blake 1977:40-41.

<sup>3</sup>The veracity of this statement can be seen by considering the derivations involving *-karlaa having* in 3.2.1.1.1. But see also the discussion on *-payi* in 3.2.1.1.2.

<sup>4</sup>See Text 4; Text 26, sentence 2; Text 49, sentence 1; Text 56, sentence 4; Text 57, paragraph 2, sentence 3; Text 65, paragraph 3, sentence 4; Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 3; Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 4; Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 8.

his feelings,<sup>1</sup> his soul,<sup>2</sup> his name (see below) and even his footprints<sup>3</sup> and reflection,<sup>4</sup> and probably also his shadow<sup>5</sup> (on the other). However, this list specifically excludes things like one's relatives<sup>6</sup> or one's dog. Hence, the student of Yindjibarndi should not be surprised when he encounters constructions of the following type:

Ngayi tyiniyarri puyha.<sup>7</sup>  
 I       ache-PRES   head  
 My head hurts.

Ngayi wirrart mirtawatyi.<sup>8</sup>  
 I       feelings good  
 I am in good spirits.

Ngana nyinta yini?  
 who   you       name  
 What is your name?

One can also see this mechanism at work in non-simple sentences such as the third one in Text 58, where the subject of a relative clause is inalienably possessing the object of a verb in the main clause.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The best example is the second one listed below. However, note also the construction involving *purpi desire* in Text 43, sentence 3 and Text 69, paragraph 2, sentences 1 and 5.

<sup>2</sup>According to Gilbert Bobby, the correct way to say *my soul* is 'ngayi mangkarn'. The three examples in Text 69, which show the term *mangkarn soul* being alienably possessed, do not, I think, contradict what Gilbert Bobby has told me. The phrase *parriyarntu mangkarnku* (paragraph 2, sentence 7), clearly a reference to 'alcoholic spirits', is explained in a footnote to the Text. *Mamayarnrtu mangkarnku* (paragraph 2, sentence 17) is obviously a translation (into the objective case) of the English expression 'Spirit of God'. Compare the similar phrases 'Spirit of Christmas', 'Spirit of Giving', etc. *Parriyarntu mangkarnku* in its second occurrence (paragraph 2, sentence 15) must also fit in here. It is difficult to see how else it could be understood. The phrase cannot contain a reference to the devil's soul, because devils don't have souls. They are animate dead bodies, whose souls have departed.

<sup>3</sup>See Text 58, sentence 3 and Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 2.

<sup>4</sup>See Text 77, paragraph 2, sentence 9.

<sup>5</sup>This is not really clear from the available data. On the one hand see Text 50, sentence 5 and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 24, but on the other Text 67, sentence 3.

<sup>6</sup>See Text 44 and Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 1.

<sup>7</sup>Other reasonable translations for this sentence are *I have a head that hurts* or *I have a headache*.

<sup>8</sup>Compare Text 63, sentence 3.

<sup>9</sup>Compare sentence 2 in the first paragraph of Text 72 and sentence 10 in the fifth paragraph of Text 75.

The concept of inalienable possession is not restricted to humans, but extends to animals,<sup>1</sup> plants and even inanimate objects. For example,

Yurtarriny, ngana nyinkaarnrtu wanytya yini?  
*Gilbert who your dog name*  
*Gilbert, what is your dog's name?*

Ngaarnrtu wanytya yini Warrunha.  
*my dog name Blackie-PN*  
*My dog's name is Blackie.*

References to plants are very limited, but I did manage to get three examples:<sup>2</sup>

Watyurru parni wuntuwa. Tyularr yarta.  
*twinbean live-PRES river bed-LOC pod plenty*  
*The twinbean lives in the river bed. It has plenty of pods.*

In regard to inanimate things, we find that motor cars inalienably possess tyres<sup>3</sup> and loading areas,<sup>4</sup> mountains - caves<sup>5</sup> and edges<sup>6</sup> and rocks - clefts or chinks,<sup>7</sup> while camps, that is, dwelling grounds, inalienably possess houses.<sup>8</sup>

Unfortunately, the concept of inalienable possession is not always applied consistently. For example, *nyirlarli excessive noise made by humans* is always inalienably possessed.<sup>9</sup> However, *wangka speech, language* is not:<sup>10</sup>

Nhaa mirlimirli wangka nyinkaarnrtu.<sup>11</sup>  
*this paper language your*  
*This paper is your language.*

<sup>1</sup>On body parts, see Text 12, sentence 5; Text 24, sentence 2; Text 37, sentence 3; Text 60, sentence 1; Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 13.

<sup>2</sup>The one shown here was provided by Ken M. Jerrold. The other two occur in sentence 2 of Text 5 and in sentence 3 of Text 27.

<sup>3</sup>See Text 51, sentence 2.

<sup>4</sup>See Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 10.

<sup>5</sup>See Text 76, paragraph 4, sentences 6 and 7.

<sup>6</sup>See Text 38, sentence 1. Compare Text 62, paragraph 1, sentence 2.

<sup>7</sup>See Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 6 and Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 1.

<sup>8</sup>See Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 2 and paragraph 2, sentence 3.

<sup>9</sup>See Text 36, sentence 4 and Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10. Note also paragraph 7, sentence 2 in the latter Text.

<sup>10</sup>See also Text 69 for numerous examples.

<sup>11</sup>By means of this pithy sentence Long Mack was trying to explain to me that Aborigines keep everything in their heads. They do not have poor memories like White people, who have to write everything down on paper.

And wirnka *whistle* may not be either:

Partuwarlaa wirnkaarlaa.<sup>1</sup>  
*feather-POSS whistle-POSS*  
*Songbird.*

And similarly, even though something can 'be' a head, and indeed must be as we pointed out earlier, the head cannot 'be' a peak;<sup>2</sup> that is,

Kakarlurlu puyha winytyurnkarlaa.  
*crested pigeon head peak-POSS*  
*The crested pigeon has a head with a peak on it.*

There are also situations in which it is difficult to discern whether inalienable possession is extant or whether one word is simply modifying the other. For example, in Text 75 the phrase kurrarnkurrarn mityara (in the accusative case) *mulga parrot egg* appears several<sup>3</sup> times, perhaps leading one to believe that inalienable possession is operating. But no, for in one instance,<sup>4</sup> we find kurrarnkurrarnarntu mityara (in the accusative case) *mulga parrot's egg*, which clearly demonstrates that the former phrase is in fact adjectival and that a *mulga parrot* can no more 'be' its egg than a man can 'be' his son.<sup>5</sup>

The reverse situation obtains in the sentence

Kupitya tyiniyarri ngarlu.<sup>6</sup>  
*little ache-PRES stomach*  
*The little one's stomach hurts.*

Here one might at first think the phrase kupitya ngarlu is adjectival. However, the 'sense' of the sentence requires us to understand the relationship between kupitya and ngarlu as one of inalienable possession.

<sup>1</sup>I interpret this phrase to mean *bird with a whistle*, the first proprietive suffix having a morphological function and the second a syntactic one.

<sup>2</sup>I checked this very closely with Gilbert Bobby, who said it was impossible to leave off the -karlaa. I also received this same construction from Ken M. Jerrold with wiru *cockatiel* taking the place of kakarlurlu. However, it is possible to say Puyha tyurtun kakarlurlu *The crested pigeon has a pointed head*. Compare Wanytya karnti kunpurlu *The dog has a fluffy tail*.

<sup>3</sup>Paragraph 2, sentence 6; paragraph 3, sentence 1; paragraph 6, sentence 5.

<sup>4</sup>Paragraph 4, sentence 2.

<sup>5</sup>Refer back to the second paragraph in this section. See also Text 53, paragraph 2, and compare the first sentence with the second.

<sup>6</sup>Note also Patya thampi purnrta *A skinny person has hollow ribs*. Both of these sentences were provided by Ken M. Jerrold.

Phrases like *pirnkartangu parra*, evidently either *wild tobacco leaves* or *leaves of the wild tobacco plant*, are even more inscrutable, probably because they are ambiguous.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.1.1.3. Apposition

Simple apposition is the term used to describe a situation in which additional information is provided about the referent(s) of a noun or noun phrase by apposing a second noun or noun phrase after it. Simple apposition occurs in a number of Yindjibarndi texts. See, for example, Text 20, sentence 1; Text 70, sentences 2 and 4; Text 73, paragraph 1, sentence 3 and paragraph 2, sentence 1; Text 76, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

Focal apposition also occurs in Yindjibarndi. It differs from simple apposition in that the apposed item or items do not add information about all the referents in the noun or noun phrase being apposed, but only about part of them. For example,<sup>2</sup> in the phrase

*ngaliya nyinta*<sup>3</sup>  
*we two you*  
*you and I*

*you* is in focal apposition to *we two*.<sup>4</sup> It clarifies the meaning of *ngaliya* by giving additional information about the ambiguous half of its referent.

Inclusive apposition resembles focal apposition in that the appended information does not refer to the complete range of referents designated by the head phrase. However, with inclusive apposition the term *minytyarnu including*<sup>5</sup> appears, for example:

*Palamumu tyutyungarli, tyarta minytyarnu,*  
*long long ago old person-PL old woman including*  
*Long long ago the old people, including the old women,*

*pangkarrimarta marlangka tyinytyanungungarlila,*  
*go-HAB behind worker-PL-LOC*  
*used to march behind the workers,*

<sup>1</sup>See Text 28, sentence 1.

<sup>2</sup>See also Text 44, sentence 4 and Text 72, paragraph 2, sentence 2 and even Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

<sup>3</sup>I have never heard the phrase *ngayi nyinta muntu*.

<sup>4</sup>That is, *you or he or she or it and I*.

<sup>5</sup>*Minytyarnu* can also mean *as well*. See Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 9 and paragraph 3, sentence 10.

karparnu pirtuwangu kuyharrau.  
 take-IMPRF *initia*nd two-OBJ  
 who took the two *initia*nds along.

Also, a number of different items may be apposed to the head phrase. See Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 11.

#### 4.1.1.4. Spatial and Temporal Phrases

##### 4.1.1.4.1. Spatial Phrases

If one only needs to define a position with respect to something vaguely, then one can simply put the noun which refers to that something in the locative case.<sup>1</sup> However, in the event more precision is required, a nominal modifier is added. This qualifier is then inflected in parallel with its head, producing a noun phrase. For example, parku means *hill*, while parkungka means *anywhere in the vicinity of the hill*. To express the information *at the bottom of the hill*, one takes the noun karta, which means *low place*,<sup>2</sup> bottom, inflects it in parallel with parkungka and then juxtaposes it to it, producing the spatial phrase kartangka parkungka.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, *at the top of the hill* is expressed in Yindjibarndi as kankala parkungka.<sup>4</sup>

In certain situations, the noun being modified is required to be in a case other than the locative. Generally, in these situations the modifier follows the case inflection of its head. For example,<sup>5</sup> consider the following sentence:

Ngayi tharrwanha thurnuu mayayi.  
 I enter-PAST *interior*-OBJ house-OBJ  
 I went *inside* the house.

##### 4.1.1.4.2. Temporal Phrases

The time words tyampa *short time*, parraa *long time* and mirna or

<sup>1</sup>See, for example, Text 3, sentence 1; Text 5, sentence 1; and Text 11, sentence 1. In many cases the context makes the specific position clear. In this regard, see Text 17, sentence 1.

<sup>2</sup>This word is used to refer to the 'coastal lowlands' in Yindjibarndi. See the Dictionary.

<sup>3</sup>It is possible to delete the head, leaving only the inflected modifier. For example, see Text 53, sentence 2.

<sup>4</sup>See Text 60 for similar examples used in context.

<sup>5</sup>Note also Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 4 and see preceding footnote plus one. In Text 60, sentence 1 we have a spatial phrase in the ablative case.

mirnawarra *while* usually occur by themselves.<sup>1</sup> However, infrequently one can find them combined to form a temporal phrase expressed in the nominative case. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

Mirnawarra tyiyarrima tyampa!  
*while wait-IMP short time*  
*Wait a little while!*

Another interesting example, consisting of tyampa plus parraa, can be found in Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 4.

More commonly, one finds temporal phrases in the locative case as in:

Ngayi pangkarrinha thuumayaarta  
*I go-PAST store-DIR ALL*  
*I went to the store*

kuyharrala<sup>2</sup> nhula kunytyirrila<sup>3</sup> yurrangka.  
*two-LOC this-LOC one-LOC day-LOC*  
*twice on this one day.*

In the examples contained in the following mini-text contributed by Long Mack, one can observe that the locative case corresponds to English *for* as well as *in* (and *on*):

Ngayi pangkarri. Parnii ngunhthi karrwarnrta.<sup>4</sup>  
*I go-PRES stay-POT way over there summer-LOC*  
*I am going. I will stay there for the summer.*

Karlinytyarrii kunytyirrila muyhungka.<sup>5</sup>  
*return-POT one-LOC year-LOC*  
*I will return in one year.*

See Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 2 for an interesting example which must be translated into English as *during* (temporal pergressive). Consider also the following useful time expressions which occur in the locative case:

<sup>1</sup>See the discussion on the functions of the nominative case in 3.1.1.2.2.2.

<sup>2</sup>See the discussion on the functions of the locative case in 3.1.1.2.2.2.

<sup>3</sup>If kunytyirrila is omitted here, the sentence will read *I went to the store on two (different) days*.

<sup>4</sup>This item is not really a noun phrase or at least not a good example of one, but see the last sentence in Text 76 for a true phrasal construction of a comparable type.

<sup>5</sup>Long Mack says that this is also the way one says *next year*. See also the second example below in the text.

yaala yurrangka<sup>1</sup>  
 now day-LOC  
 today

kunytyirrila yurrangka  
 one-LOC day-LOC  
 on the following day

kunytyirrila warrungkamu<sup>2</sup>  
 one-LOC tomorrow  
 on the day after tomorrow

wirruula<sup>3</sup> yurrangka  
 different-LOC day-LOC  
 several days later

wirruulamu yurrangka<sup>4</sup>  
 different-LOC-ANA day-LOC  
 several days ago

There is one temporal construction, involving *yini until*, which makes use of the objective case. Note the following sentence, which contains a relevant example:

Ngayi pangkarrinha, yurra karpaayila, waruu yini.<sup>5</sup>  
 I go-PAST sun rise-PRF-LOC night-OBJ until  
 I walked from sunrise until dark.

See also Text 46, sentence 6, which contains a complementary example.

#### 4.1.2. Verb Phrases

##### 4.1.2.1. Structure

Verb phrases may consist of an indeclineable plus verb (stem), the former modifying the latter in the way an adverb modifies a verb in

<sup>1</sup>Pirringka *in the afternoon* and warrungka *at night* can be substituted for yurrangka *in the morning*, provided an appropriate change in meaning is acknowledged.

<sup>2</sup>In the word for *tomorrow* -ngkamu translates as *after*, whereas in the following example plus one the same construction means *before when*.

<sup>3</sup>In Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 1 this same construction occurs with the emphatic clitic and the determiner attached to the first constituent. This additional material is a means for indicating non-past time and contrasts directly with -mu in the immediately following construction, which see. See also the Dictionary under 'ngartiyaawayhu' and 'ngartiyaamu'.

<sup>4</sup>See also Text 42, sentence 1, where this phrase is used in a sentence. Compare the phrases palamu ngurranyutyungkamu *long ago when the earth was soft* and palamumu ngurranyutyungkamu *long long ago when the earth was soft*, where -mu is employed to indicate past time. See Text 75, paragraph 1, sentence 1 and Text 73, paragraph 1, sentence 1, respectively.

<sup>5</sup>An interesting comparable example can be found in the fourth footnote in 4.2.4.3.



English, often producing a phrase which can be translated by a single English word. Examples of such verb phrases include:<sup>1</sup>

wala                      wangka- (VØ)<sup>2</sup>  
*not straightforward talk*  
*lie*

tyarru                  wangka- (VØ)<sup>3</sup>  
*over and over say*  
*repeat*

parla wanpi- (VR)<sup>4</sup>  
*hard beat*  
*hit hard*

Verb phrases can also consist of a noun plus verb, where the noun is adjectival in character, since such words can also function as adverbs.<sup>5</sup> For example, the following sequences of noun plus verb stem may be considered to be verb phrases:

murti pangkarri- (VØ)<sup>6</sup>  
*fast go*  
*go quickly*

warrwa pangkarri- (VØ)<sup>7</sup>  
*far go*  
*go away*

pirti wanpi- (VR)<sup>8</sup>  
*false beat*  
*try to hit but miss*

However, sometimes sequences of noun plus verb which may appear to be phrases are really not. For example, in

<sup>1</sup>For examples involving *mirta not* and *kuyu let, may*, see 4.1.3 and 4.2.2.3, respectively.

<sup>2</sup>See Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 1. See also the Dictionary under 'wala' for a series of examples.

<sup>3</sup>See Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 18.

<sup>4</sup>See the Dictionary under 'parla' for an additional example.

<sup>5</sup>Consider, for example, the phrase 'yirriri watyiwa' *badly sick* in Text 70, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

<sup>6</sup>It is also possible to say *murtingka pangkarri- (VØ) go at speed*.

<sup>7</sup>See Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 13.

<sup>8</sup>See Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5 and also Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 12. Note also the following examples: *Mangkurla pirti thuurna marlurlu. The child tried to spear the bark target, but missed.* *Mangkurla pirti tyirraakarrinha marntayi. The child tried to jump over the rock, but failed.*

tyina pangkarri- (VØ)<sup>1</sup>  
*foot go*  
*walk*

mara punga- (VØ)<sup>2</sup>  
*hand fall (on)*  
*choose*

and

wirrart punga- (VØ)  
*feelings fall (together)*  
*agree with each other*

the initial nominal element is actually the subject of the verb. When a sentence is formed and a noun or pronoun is placed before this nominal element to act as the subject of the sentence, the added noun or pronoun then inalienably possesses it (see 4.1.1.2).

In sequences like

thatha parrwa- (VR)  
*lie cook (up)*  
*lie*

and

kurnrta wangka- (VØ)  
*respect speak*  
*speak respectfully*

the initial element is the object of the verb.<sup>3</sup> This fact is easy to verify, because one can find examples in which these noun plus verb sequences appear as kurnrtayi wangka-<sup>4</sup> and thathayi parrwa-<sup>5</sup> with objective case markers on the noun. I leave it to the reader to decide for himself whether such constructions ought to be considered verb phrases. But in any case he should see the following section.

In phrases of the following type

parni- (VØ) purnrtut<sup>6</sup>  
*be initiation rite*  
*put on an initiation rite*

<sup>1</sup>See Text 52, sentence 5 and Text 62, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

<sup>2</sup>See Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 4.

<sup>3</sup>In fact it is the direct object (see 3.1.1.2.2.2 under nominative case). In the phrase wilayi pangkarri- *go for a walk* (see Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 3), wilayi appears to be the indirect object.

<sup>4</sup>Gilbert Bobby indicates that you can say it either way, kurnrta wangka- or kurnrtayi wangka-. Kurnrtayi wangka- is short for kurnrtayi wangkayi wangka- *speak the respect language*.

<sup>5</sup>See Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 1.

<sup>6</sup>See Text 76, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

parni- (VØ) alarti<sup>1</sup>  
*be holiday*  
*take a holiday*

it is difficult to understand the grammar.<sup>2</sup> The nouns involved are certainly not predicate complements.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps they are best treated as idioms. The construction

ngarri- (VØ) pampa<sup>4</sup>  
*lie sleep*  
*sleep*

may also fit in here.

#### 4.1.2.2. Case Selection

In Yindjibarndi there is no doubt that the objective case is the one which is most frequently selected by verbs.<sup>5</sup> For example, mirra- (VØ) *call out (to)*,<sup>6</sup> munta- (VR) *take away (from)*,<sup>7</sup> panyi- (VN) *step (on)*<sup>8</sup> and thurni- (VØ) *laugh (at)*<sup>9</sup> all take the objective case. Even

<sup>1</sup>See Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 1. See also the Dictionary under 'pingkayī', the objective form of which is pingkayiu.

<sup>2</sup>One might expect a locative construction, for example *be on a holiday*. Compare the interesting instrumental construction in Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 7.

<sup>3</sup>See discussion under nominative case in 3.1.1.2.2.2.

<sup>4</sup>Pampa is indeed a common noun in the nominative case. For proof see the first paragraph in 4.1.4.

<sup>5</sup>Indeed, the propensity for intransitive verb stems like karpa- (VØ) *rise* to take objects is very disconcerting (see following paragraph in the text). The key here seems to be semantics. If an intransitive verb can take on a sense which is transitive, then it can take an object. In this regard see the verb stems yinti- and yuni- (VØ) *descend* in the Dictionary. And see also the discussion on the objective case in 3.1.1.2.2.2. Predicate complements with linking verbs, etc. are discussed under the nominative case in the same section.

<sup>6</sup>See Text 31, sentence 2.

<sup>7</sup>See Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 7. Muirri- (VØ) *run away (from)* also selects for objective case. See Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 8. But both of these verb stems can take the ablative case as a possible alternative. With munta-, which is ditransitive, this ablative alternates with the indirect object.

<sup>8</sup>See Text 38, sentence 2.

<sup>9</sup>See Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 14.

constructions like *thurnungkarri- (VØ) mayayi go inside a house* are the norm,<sup>1</sup> even though once one is *inside the house*, he is *thurnungka mayangka*.<sup>2</sup>

However, with a number of Ø-stem verbs there is variation between the objective and locative case. So, for example, one can use either *karpa- (VØ) marnrtaayi ascent a mountain* or *karpa- (VØ) marnrtaa get up on a mountain*.<sup>3</sup> *Tharrwa- (VØ) enter* works similarly. Either *tharrwa- (VØ) (thurnuu) mayayi enter (the inside of) a house* or *tharrwa- (VØ) (thurnungka) mayangka enter into (the inside of) a house* is possible,<sup>4</sup> although as in the previous example, the former construction is clearly preferred.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes the alternation is between the objective and the instrumental case. For example, one ordinarily uses the construction *nyirra- (VØ) nyarnayi put on white paint*,<sup>6</sup> but *nyarnangku* is also possible.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, *thartarri- (VØ) kawurnku cover up with a skin*<sup>8</sup> can be replaced with *thartarri- (VØ) kawurnrtu*.<sup>9</sup>

The case alternation that sporadically occurs in this context is interesting, because it reflects one which exists between factitive and inchoative verbs.<sup>10</sup> For example, even though one *tharrwa mayayi enters a house*, he *tharrwaku nganii mayangka puts something into the house*. Similarly, one *nyirrayi nyarnayi will put on white paint*, but he *nyirrakayi nganangu nyarnangku will paint someone (else) with white*

<sup>1</sup>That is not to say that this is normally the way one would say *enter a house*. He would usually use the construction *tharrwa- (VØ) mayayi*. See further below in the Text. For a construction similar to *thurnungkarri- (VØ) mayayi*, see Text 47, sentence 1.

<sup>2</sup>And when one comes out, he 'tyingkarnirri mayangkangu', which makes the previous example all the more remarkable.

<sup>3</sup>Compare Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 16 with Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 6.

<sup>4</sup>Compare Text 57, paragraph 2, sentence 4 with Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 8.

<sup>5</sup>There are plenty of examples with the objective case, but only one additional one besides the one mentioned in the previous footnote, in which the locative case appears. See Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 7.

<sup>6</sup>See Text 26, sentence 2. Also, see Text 52, sentence 4.

<sup>7</sup>But Gilbert Bobby says that it is not as good.

<sup>8</sup>See Text 46, sentence 4.

<sup>9</sup>And in this particular case, I believe that one could even get away with the locative *kawurnrta*. Compare also the sentence *Kanytyanma marangka/maranku! Hold it in your hand!*

<sup>10</sup>Some might phrase this relationship in terms of transitive and middle.

*paint*. Therefore, one can see that when the object of a factitive verb<sup>1</sup> is equated with the subject, this factitive verb is ordinarily<sup>2</sup> replaced by a inchoative verb,<sup>3</sup> and the constituent in the locative or instrumental<sup>4</sup> case then falls into the less marked objective case (see 3.1.1.2.2.3). However, on rare occasions, this constituent does not shift into the objective case, and it is then that we observe the kind of case variation, commented on in the preceding paragraph.<sup>5</sup>

Variation in case usage also occurs with respect to verbs of motion. For example, with *pangkarri-* (VØ) *go* and most other verbs of motion, *to* is expressed by the direct form of the allative case<sup>6</sup> and *roughly toward(s)* or *in the general direction of* by the indirect form.<sup>7</sup> However, from time to time, the indirect allative is replaced by the simple object,<sup>8</sup> and the direct allative by *thurrurt directly* plus the objective case.<sup>9</sup> What is really interesting, though, is that *kanangkarri-* (VØ) *come* almost never<sup>10</sup> takes the direct or indirect allative case. The objective case - with or without *thurrurt* - is nearly always used.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In the examples given above in the text, *tharrwaku* and *nyirrakayi* are the factitive verbs.

<sup>2</sup>But reflexive constructions are also possible (see 3.1.2.3 and 4.2.2.1).

<sup>3</sup>Perhaps the relationship between factitive and inchoative will become more apparent, if an example containing a verbalised noun is considered. Compare, for example, *Ngayi thartamarna tyarnkuu kawurnrtu I covered myself with a skin* with *Ngayi thartarrinha kawurnku I covered up with a skin*.

<sup>4</sup>Or comitative (see 3.1.1.2.2.2).

<sup>5</sup>Note, however, that it does not appear to explain the variation between objective and locative case with *karpa-* (VØ) *rise, go up*, since *karpa-* (VL) means *carry, bring*.

<sup>6</sup>See discussion on the allative case in 3.1.1.2.2.2.

<sup>7</sup>For examples see directions in the preceding footnote.

<sup>8</sup>See Text 32, sentence 1 and Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 4. Note also Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 2.

<sup>9</sup>See Text 61, sentence 6 and Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 6, but also Text 43, sentence 3. I wish to thank Gilbert Bobby for explaining this rule to me.

<sup>10</sup>There is only one counter example and it is somewhat unusual. See Text 65, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

<sup>11</sup>See Text 22, sentence 4; Text 42, sentence 6; Text 61, sentence 6; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentences 4 and 6; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 7; and Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 11. Also note Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 5.

The directional allative also has a substitute case. It is the locative.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in expressing directional motion in terms of the compass points or current flow, one may use either the directional allative case or the locative case.<sup>2</sup> One also has the same options with respect to certain other directions. For example, one can either go 'up' or 'upwards'.<sup>3</sup> With *murna close, near*, however, the locative case is almost never<sup>4</sup> used in any context. Therefore, with this particular lexeme, the choice is between the directional allative *murnakurru*<sup>5</sup> and the simple nominative *murna*, with a decisive preference for the former.<sup>6</sup> In this context note that the ablative case of *murna* is *murnangu*.<sup>7</sup>

#### 4.1.3. Negation

Nouns and verbs are treated differently. The negator for nouns is the noun *yurlu*, which basically means *none* and *nothing*, but also *zero* and *empty*.<sup>8</sup> The negator for verbs is the indeclineable *mirta not*,

<sup>1</sup>The reader may recall from our discussion on noun cases (see 3.1.1.2.2.1) that the directional allative is built on the locative case.

<sup>2</sup>For example, see Text 76 and compare the fifth sentence in paragraph 1 with the last sentence in paragraph 4.

<sup>3</sup>Compare Text 67, paragraph 2, sentence 1 with Text 70, sentence 3. On the alternation between *ngunhthi (way) over there* and *ngunhthiurru*, see Text 45, sentence 5 and Text 47, sentence 2. See also Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 18 and paragraph 4, sentence 4.

<sup>4</sup>I only got one example with this term in the locative case and it was from Long Mack. In a minitext, he narrated: 'Kumarlarrima! Payankarrangu ngula murnangkawa.' *Get together! The soldiers are over there nearby.* However, Gilbert Bobby confirmed that the locative case of *murna* is indeed *murnangka*. *Warrwa far, away* behaves similarly to *murna*. See Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 1 and Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 4.

<sup>5</sup>Note the absence of the locative case marker.

<sup>6</sup>See Text 25, sentence 3; Text 54, sentences 6 and 9; Text 65, paragraph 1, sentence 2; Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 1. On the other hand Gilbert Bobby says that *warrwa* does not really have a directional allative and hence the nominative case must be used. See Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 2 and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 13. *Tyampu left* and *maarta right* behave similarly to *warrwa*. Consider the following sentence: *Maarta pinkalima! Turn to the right!* And also note these constructions: *tyuntu murruuyu backwards*, *murruuyu karlinytyarri- (vØ) back up, reverse*.

<sup>7</sup>I have illustrated its use in sentence 2 of Text 54. The ablative case of *warrwa* is constructed similarly. However, in Street 1972:8 there is a sentence in Yindjibarndi provided by Robert Churnside, a Ngarluma, which contains a recording of the form *warrwangangu from a distant place*.

<sup>8</sup>See the Dictionary under 'winya' as well as under 'yurlu'.

which is also used to answer 'yes-or-no' questions. The difference in operation between these two terms can be illustrated by examining the following two sentences, which constitute a sort of minimal pair:<sup>1</sup>

Yurlu pawa pakita.<sup>2</sup>  
*nothing water bucket-LOC*  
*No water is in the bucket.*

Mirta pawa pakita.  
*not water bucket-LOC*  
*The water is not in the bucket.*

In the first sentence yurlu is negating pawa, which is the subject. In the second, mirta is negating the understood verb parni (or more appropriately ngarri) *is* (see 4.2.1).

One can employ the privative suffix (see 3.2.1.1.1) in certain circumstances in order to avoid making an outright negative statement. For example

Ngayi yarralanyparrimarta.<sup>3</sup>  
*I water peanut-PRIV*  
*I lack water peanuts.*

can serve in place of its semantic equivalent<sup>4</sup>

Ngayi mirta kanytyaku yarralanyku.  
*I not have-PRES water peanut-OBJ*  
*I do not have any water peanuts.*

which contains the verb stem kanytya- (VL) *have*<sup>5</sup> preceded by the explicit negator mirta *not*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The veracity of these two examples is assured by Gilbert Bobby. Incidentally, they can be further simplified to Yurlu pakita *Nothing is in the bucket* and Mirta pakita *Something is not in the bucket*, respectively. See also Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 7, which makes it clear that Yindjibarndi does not employ 'double negatives'.

<sup>2</sup>A more fluent translation of this sentence might be *There is no water in the bucket*.

<sup>3</sup>Another possible translation is *I am without water peanuts*. See also Text 51, sentence 3; Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 3; and Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 2 for additional examples.

<sup>4</sup>According to Long Mack.

<sup>5</sup>The reader may also be interested in the following two sentences provided by Long Mack: Ngayi kanytyaku yarralanyku *I have some water peanuts* and its equivalent Ngayi yarralanykarlaa.

<sup>6</sup>There is also a verb stem yurluwarra- (VR), which means *have nothing*. Note the appearance of the noun negator within it and see the Dictionary for additional information. It is used in Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 17.

The privative suffix can also be employed together with a nominalised verb stem to render a rare but possible alternative to an overtly negative construction. For example, one can either say

Ngunhu ngaarta yimpaarna ngaarnrtu mayayi, mirta karringu.<sup>1</sup>  
 that man pass-PAST my house-OBJ not stop-IMPRF  
 That man went by my house and didn't stop.

or else

Ngunhu ngaarta yimpaarna ngaarnrtu mayayi karringuwarrimarta.  
 that man pass-PAST my house-OBJ stop-IMPRF-PRIV  
 That man went by my house without stopping.

and really mean the same thing.

In a universal context I suppose that it is a matter for debate whether sentences containing privative constructions are non-negative. However, in the Yindjibarndi case it seems reasonably clear that such sentences are in fact negative. That is, the root *-parri-*<sup>2</sup> in *-parrimarta* is certainly cognate with the Pandjima-Pailgu privative suffix *-pati*.<sup>3</sup> The latter is in turn apparently related to the Nyungar exclamation *pati! no!*.<sup>4</sup> Thus, there is some reason to suspect that privatives in general do indeed have negative content.

#### 4.1.4. Word Order

Some firm and also some not so firm restrictions on word order can be observed within the domain of noun and verb phrases. For instance, when an indeclineable modifies a verb, the indeclineable precedes the verb.<sup>5</sup> So, for example, the verb phrase *wala wanti looks back* must be spoken in this order.<sup>6</sup> One cannot say *\*wanti wala*.<sup>7</sup> However, in similar phrases, consisting of noun plus verb, either order is possible.

<sup>1</sup>See 4.2.4.2.1 for a discussion on conjoining.

<sup>2</sup>Compare *-parrimarta lacking, without* with *-parriri- (VØ) become without, lack*.

<sup>3</sup>See 2.2.10 where intervocalic *t* is discussed. The datum is taken from O'Grady and others 1966:87, 90.

<sup>4</sup>Apparently as in *You don't say!*. See Douglas 1976:71.

<sup>5</sup>Thanks to Kenneth L. Hale for driving this point home.

<sup>6</sup>See, for example, Text 37, sentence 2.

<sup>7</sup>I specifically checked the veracity of this statement with Gilbert Bobby. I might also note that I have never heard the constituents in the phrases *wala wangka lies* (see Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 1) and *wala nhau spies* used in any other order.



Thus, *pampa ngarri sleeps* may also appear as *ngarri pampa*.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, when an indeclineable modifies a noun, the order is distinctly reversed. The indeclineable follows the noun.<sup>2</sup> For example, on one occasion I asked Gilbert Bobby, if it were possible to substitute *yini warru* for *warru yini until night*.<sup>3</sup> He chuckled and said that *warru yini* meant *until night*, but *yini Warru* meant *Blackie's name*.<sup>4</sup> Conjunctions also seem to invariably follow the noun they conjoin.<sup>5</sup>

The preceding example seems to also suggest that the preferred position for a noun modifier is after the noun it modifies. However, I would be hesitant to make such a claim on the basis of what I have observed in the Texts.<sup>6</sup> In any case nouns which function as adjectives,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>I did in fact hear it spoken precisely this way in conversation on at least one occasion. I also received *ngarringumarnu pampa* in a Text which is not included in this book, and Hale (1959a:52) recorded *ngarriyangu pampayi*. Moreover, see Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 7. And the penultimate example sentence in 4.2.4.5.

<sup>2</sup>However, note the aberrant position of *parla* (I) in Text 63, paragraph 1, sentence 4; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 10 and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 2. Then see 3.3.5.

<sup>3</sup>Compare sentence 6 in Text 46. Note also Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 5; Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 5 and paragraph 2, sentence 3; Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 3; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 22.

<sup>4</sup>In addition to *yini* (I) *until*, there is the noun *yini*, which means *name*. Names are among the items which may be inalienably possessed. See 4.1.1.2. 'Blackie' is Gilbert's dog.

<sup>5</sup>There are, however, three apparent counter examples, but in all such cases the conjunction *muntu and* splits the two conjoined nouns. See Text 61, sentences 3 and 5 and Text 73, paragraph 1, sentence 1. Therefore, in such a situation it could be argued that the first noun, which is followed by the conjunction, is being conjoined to the second, which is preceded by the conjunction, rather than the reverse.

<sup>6</sup>For example, in Text 75 we find two examples of *kurrarnkurrarnku mityarau mulga parrot egg* (in the accusative case) versus only one of the expected *mityarau kurrarnkurrarnku*. The loci are paragraph 2, sentence 6; paragraph 3, sentence 1; and paragraph 6, sentence 5.

<sup>7</sup>For example, I checked the position of *kupitya small, little*, a frequently used modifier, in Texts provided by Ken M. Jerrold. On ten occasions it preceded the noun it modified and on two occasions it followed it. The references are Text 32; Text 38, sentence 2; Text 55, sentences 8 and 9; Text 60, sentences 1, 3 and 8; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 4; Text 66, paragraph 2, sentence 2; Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 4; and Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 3. I also received an interesting sentence in which a second adjective-like noun is modifying the same head as *kupitya*. The sentence is: *Kupitya warnta kuta, parningu marntaa karkangka, minytyarra. A little bitty plant, which lives in washes in the mountains, is the Stemodia*. Note the position of the second modifier with respect to the head.

demonstratives<sup>1</sup> and genitives<sup>2</sup> tend to precede the noun they modify. But there is a lot of variation.<sup>3</sup> Numerals, interestingly enough, invariably come before the noun they modify. The situation with respect to quantifiers appears to be complex.<sup>4</sup>

See also 4.2.8 for more discussion on word order.

## 4.2. Sentences

### 4.2.1. Minimal Sentences

The minimal sentence in Yindjibarndi is a single word. The most perfect example of it is a sentence consisting of only an interjection,<sup>5</sup> for example,

Thangkarr!  
Enough!

and

Parra!  
Go on, do it!

as there are no 'understood' words under these circumstances.

However, a minimal sentence can also consist of a noun or pronoun standing by itself. In this situation the verb *parni is* is usually understood. For example, in Text 1 the second sentence is composed of the single word *karnrtatypirti teary*, a noun functioning like an adjective. The verb here is clearly *parni is*, which is unexpressed according to preferred Yindjibarndi style. Compare the preceding sentence *Thurla watyi*<sup>6</sup> in the same Text. Now because the subject of

<sup>1</sup>See, for example, Text 44.

<sup>2</sup>See the preceding footnote.

<sup>3</sup>For example, if we check the distribution of *watyikarta big, large* in Texts dictated by Ken M. Jerrold, we find that it precedes the noun it modifies once and follows it twice. See Text 32, sentence 1; Text 57, paragraph 2, sentence 2 and Text 63, paragraph 1, sentence 1. For an example showing a demonstrative following its head, see Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 4. For differently placed genitives see Text 48.

<sup>4</sup>*Maru many, much*, for example, tends to follow its head, while *mani part, some; rest, other* tends to precede. On the former see Text 10, sentence 3; Text 36, sentences 1 and 4; Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 11. On the latter see Text 6, sentence 2; Text 10, sentence 3; Text 52, sentence 5; Text 56, sentence 8; Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 2; Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 5; Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 2; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5.

<sup>5</sup>'Interjection' is only a functional category.

<sup>6</sup>Also compare this sentence with the title of the Text in which it appears. Note that the title is a phrase.

the sentence is the same as in this preceding one, it is not expressed again<sup>1</sup> in Yindjibarndi, but translates as *it* in English. Thus, the Yindjibarndi sentence

Karnrtatypirti.

is rendered into English as

*It is teary.*

Another good example - this one provided by Long Mack - consists of the following single-word question<sup>2</sup>

Nhaampa?

*this-TOP*

*Is this what you're talking about?*

to which one might answer

Ngunhaarrumpa.

*that-ONE-TOP*

*That's the one I'm talking about.*

Finally, a minimal sentence can also be simply a verb. For example, the subject of a third person imperative (see 4.2.2.3) is often omitted as in English. This results from time to time in the production of one-word commands as shown immediately below:

Pangkarrima!

*go-IMP*

*Go!*

A similar situation may also occur in isolated declarative sentences (see 4.2.2.1). But here the subject is understood to be *someone* or *something*.<sup>3</sup> Note, for example, the following:

Kanangkarri.

*come-PRES*

*Someone is coming.*

In Text 71 there is a sentence positioned in the middle of the first paragraph which consists of a single verb having an understood subject and an understood object. In this regard compare the two preceding sentences in that Text.

These several examples should give the reader some idea of what minimal sentences are like in Yindjibarndi.

<sup>1</sup>Yindjibarndi tends to be economical. Items which can be considered redundant are generally omitted. See 4.2.9.

<sup>2</sup>Another frequently heard one-word sentence is: Ngani? *What (is it)?* See 4.2.2.2 for a discussion of interrogative sentences.

<sup>3</sup>See also 3.1.2.2 in the part on indefinite pronouns.

## 4.2.2. Simple Sentences

### 4.2.2.1. Declarative Sentences

Declarative sentences consist of a subject and a predicate. The subject is a noun or pronoun, which is sometimes understood (see 4.2.1), or phrase (see 4.1.1.1 to 4.1.1.3). The predicate usually<sup>1</sup> contains a verb (again sometimes unexpressed) or verb phrase (see especially 4.1.2.1) plus or including potential nouns governed by the verb (see 4.1.2.2) together with additional predicate qualifiers such as temporal and spatial phrases (see 4.1.1.4). The order which governs the appearance of constituents in declarative sentences is discussed in section 4.2.8. A comment on the intonation pattern observed in declarative sentences is made in the first paragraph in 2.3.3.

There are essentially two kinds of declarative sentences, transitive and intransitive. Intransitive sentences contain an intransitive verb, which by definition cannot take a direct object.<sup>2</sup> However, intransitive sentences may contain predicates which include nouns in other cases, such as the nominative (see 3.1.1.2.2.2), allative (with verbs of motion), etc. Transitive sentences, on the other hand, contain a transitive verb and therefore may include direct objects in their predicates as well as nouns in other cases, for example, the locative.

Reflexive sentences constitute a subtype of transitive sentence. The following example illustrates how a reflexive sentence can be derived from a transitive sentence:

Ngayi punhthakayi.  
 I wash-POT  
 I will wash someone (else).

becomes

Ngayi punhthakayi tyarnkuu.  
 I wash-POT self-OBJ  
 I will wash myself.

with the addition of the reflexive pronoun *tyarnku self* (see 3.1.2.3).

A still further subtype can be derived. Since the subject and object are basically the same in a reflexive sentence, the factitive

<sup>1</sup>A few nouns such as *purpi want* and *manyu ask for* seem to work like verbs. See 3.1.1.2.2.2 under the discussion on the objective case.

<sup>2</sup>The reader is reminded of the fact that some intransitive verb stems such as *karpa-* (VØ) can be either intransitive or transitive, depending on what they mean in the particular context in which they appear. For example, *karpa-* can mean *rise* and hence be intransitive or denote *go up* and thereby take a direct object.

verb can be replaced with its inchoative counterparts and the direct object deleted, forming a middle sentence, which says essentially<sup>1</sup> the same thing, but in a different way, that is

Ngayi punhthayi.  
I wash-POT  
I will wash.

Such middle sentences can contain objects, the underlying sources of which are nouns or pronouns in other less general case forms. See the discussion contained in section 4.1.2.2.

The simple declarative sentence as described in this section is considered to represent the ideal, that is unmarked, Yindjibarndi sentence, and all other types will, therefore, be described in terms of it.

#### 4.2.2.2. Interrogative Sentences

There are no differences - especially in regard to word order<sup>2</sup> - between 'yes-or-no' questions and statements except that the former are marked by a final rising intonation pattern.<sup>3</sup> For example, consider the following interrogative sentences:

Nyinta patharrii purpi?  
you be painted-POT want  
Do you want to be painted?  
  
Ngau!<sup>4</sup> Nyinta ngayu pathamakayi?  
yes you me paint-POT  
Yes! Will you paint me?

<sup>1</sup>I say 'essentially', because middle sentences can replace passive sentences (see 4.2.3) as well as reflexive sentences. See, for example, the first example shown in section 4.2.2.2.

<sup>2</sup>I did receive one 'yes-or-no' question containing inverted word order like English from Gilbert Bobby. The sentence reads: Wantaa ngayi pangkarrii nyintala? *Can I go with you?* However, the shift must be a spurious one. Compare the second sentence in Text 4.

<sup>3</sup>See 2.3.3. and compare Dixon 1977:382-83.

<sup>4</sup>In answering negative 'yes-or-no' questions such as

Nyinta mirta purpi?  
you not want  
Don't you want it?

the following format is used:

Ngau! Ngayi mirta purpi.  
yes I not want  
Yes! I don't want it.  
  
Mirta! Ngayi purpi.  
no I want  
No! I want it.

However, it is possible to mark such a question by attaching the interrogative clitic *-nta*<sup>1</sup> to one word<sup>2</sup> in the sentence as shown below:

Nyinta ngamayiarlaanta?<sup>3</sup>  
*you tobacco-POSS-QUES*  
*Do you have any tobacco?*

Nyinta pangkarrinta?  
*you go-PRES-QUES*  
*Are you going?*

But usually no one bothers.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, in 'wh'-questions there is a very clear and definite change in word order (see also 4.2.8). Here the interrogative pronoun<sup>5</sup> or verb<sup>6</sup> *always*<sup>7</sup> appears in initial position within the sentence. In all other respects these sentences resemble the unmarked declarative-type.<sup>8</sup> For example, consider the following:

<sup>1</sup>I have only observed this clitic within 'yes-or-no' questions, never in 'wh'-questions.

<sup>2</sup>I have not been able to determine whether *-nta* is supposed to be attached to the last word in a sentence or to the specific word being interrogated, because it is used so rarely. However, this clitic is also used to mark 'whether' clauses and in the single example that I collected, it also occupied final position within the sentence (see 4.2.7). But note the following Kurrama sentence, which is taken from Hale 1959b:47: Mirtanta ngayu thurnii, yirrarnmarnuyu? *Won't someone laugh at me, if I sing?* Compare Dixon 1972:122.

<sup>3</sup>Ken M. Jerrold translated his sentence, *Don't you ever have any tobacco?* suggesting that the interrogative clitic contributes a certain intensity to a question.

<sup>4</sup>I really only received one unsolicited example, which is the first one shown above in the text. I had to ask Gilbert Bobby for the second one. He responded as if it weren't very interesting.

<sup>5</sup>The interrogative pronouns observed in the Texts include the following: *ngana who* (Text 58, sentence 2), *ngani what* (Text 44, sentence 1; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 2), *thampa what about* (Text 49, sentence 7), *wanhthinha which* (Text 43, sentence 3), *wanhthila where* (Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 6), and *wanhtharni ngarra how* (Text 44, sentence 3). On *nganinyaa what for* and related forms, see the example in this section of the text. Similarly for *wanhtharni where to*. A list of interrogative pronouns can be found in 3.1.2.2.

<sup>6</sup>The term for *why* is an inflected form of the verb stem *nganiwarni-* (VØ) *what happen*, which is in turn a verbalised form of the pronoun *ngani what* (see 3.3.2). Usually the perfective aspect *nganiwarnaa* is employed (see, for example, Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 1), but infrequently one encounters the simple past tense (see Text 31, sentence 1). The factitive counterpart to the inchoative *nganiwarni-* is also used in interrogation. See the example involving *nganima-* (VL) *do what* in this section of the text.

<sup>7</sup>There are no exceptions to this rule that I am aware of. But see what Klokeid (1969:17) has to say about Thargari.

<sup>8</sup>At least as far as I can tell. Declarative sentences are discussed in the preceding section.

Ngana nhaa tyina pangkarrinha?<sup>1</sup>  
*who this foot go-PAST*  
*Who walked here?*

Nganinyaa nyinta yurraku purnrtayi?<sup>2</sup>  
*what for you dig-PRES hole-OBJ*  
*What are you digging the hole for?*

Wanhthinhala mayangka parni Yinpirra?<sup>3</sup>  
*which-LOC house-LOC live-PRES Long Mack*  
*Which house does Long Mack live in?*

Wanhtharni nyinta pangkarri?<sup>4</sup>  
*where to you go-PRES*  
*Where are you going?*

Wanhtharni ngarra waramakayi wirrayi?<sup>5</sup>  
*how make-POT boomerang-OBJ*  
*How does one make a boomerang?*

Wanhtharta nyinta wanhthakayi?  
*when you leave-POT*  
*When will you leave?*

Nganiwarninha nyinta?<sup>6</sup>  
*what happen-PAST you*  
*What is wrong with you?*

Nganimaku nyinta?<sup>7</sup>  
*do what-PRES you*  
*What are you doing?*

Sometimes the dubitative clitic *-rra* (see 3.2.2.3) may appear in an interrogative sentence, coupled to the topic clitic *-mpa*. Evidently, it gives the question a peculiar negative flavour.<sup>8</sup> In this regard see the footnote to Text 58, sentence 2.

<sup>1</sup>Evidently *nhaa this* is to be translated *here* in this context. Compare the following example taken from Hale 1959a:5: *Wanhthila parni? Where is he? Nhaa parni. Here he is.* On the relationship between *who* and *foot* see 4.1.2.1.

<sup>2</sup>Compare Text 18, sentence 2 and see also Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 7.

<sup>3</sup>*Wanhthinha* literally means *which one*. This meaning is brought out in the first example in 4.2.5.

<sup>4</sup>It is possible to substitute *wanhthila where at* for *wanhtharni where to*. See Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 18 and also the last paragraph in 4.1.2.2.

<sup>5</sup>Cheedy Ned tells me that it is possible to leave out the '*ngarra*'. I have seen one or two examples elsewhere which support his claim.

<sup>6</sup>This example was provided by Long Mack. His follow-up question was: *Yirriri? Are you sick?* Compare the example which occurs in Text 13, sentence 2.

<sup>7</sup>See also Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 1. Hale (1959a:60) records the following interesting example: *Nganimakayi pawayi? What are you going to do with the water?*

<sup>8</sup>Gilbert Bobby says that *-mparra* means *isn't it?* See also von Brandenstein's (1970: 41, fn. 5) interesting comment on the clitic cluster *-lparrapa* (= *Yindjibarndi -mparrawa*) in *Ngarluma*.

## 4.2.2.3. Imperative Sentences

Commands may occur in all three persons in Yindjibarndi. However, first person imperatives only occur in the dual or plural<sup>1</sup> and then only in the potential mood.<sup>2</sup> Often they go unnoticed, because they are nearly identical to declarative sentences, differing from them only in terms of intonation contour.<sup>3</sup> Consider the following examples which illustrate the formation of the positive and negative imperative, respectively:

Kuwayi! Ngali wanpirnmarrii!<sup>4</sup>  
*come here you and I beat up-RECIP-POT*  
*Come on! Let's fight!*

Ngali mirta pangkarrii!<sup>5</sup>  
*you and I not go-POT*  
*Let's not go!*

Second person imperatives, unlike those in the first person, may occur freely in all numbers.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, they occur in the imperative mood as well as in the potential mood. There is a rule<sup>7</sup> which governs the distribution of these verbal categories among the *formal* commands for this number: The positive command is in the imperative

<sup>1</sup>Gilbert Bobby says that it is not possible to speak a command in the first person singular (contrast Dixon 1977:370). For commands in the first person plural, see the second footnote in 2.3.3, where a positive command is illustrated, and Text 48, sentence 3, where there is a negative command.

<sup>2</sup>Gilbert Bobby says that it is impossible to deliver a first person command in the imperative mood.

<sup>3</sup>See the first paragraph in 2.3.3.

<sup>4</sup>This example is borrowed from Hale 1959a:133. Ken M. Jerrold provided me with the following similar but longer example: Kuwayi! *Come on!* Ngali pangkarrii ngunhungu parnii malungka, wangkayinytyarringu! *Let's go over there and sit in the shade and talk!* Also note this one produced by Gilbert Bobby: Ngali tyampa karrii wangkayinytyarringu, pangkarringumarnu pirnrtiwrnrti! *Let's stand here for a little while and talk, and then we'll go our separate ways!* See also Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 9.

<sup>5</sup>Another negative first person imperative can be found in Text 48, sentence 3. This example is particularly interesting, because the verb is transitive and has a direct object.

<sup>6</sup>A dual command occurs in Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 10 and a plural one in the same Text, paragraph 6, sentence 3.

<sup>7</sup>Given to me by Gilbert Bobby. *Rarely* did I hear it broken.



mood,<sup>1</sup> while the negative command is in the potential mood.<sup>2</sup> For example, compare the following pair<sup>3</sup> provided by Long Mack:

Karrima!  
*stop-IMP*  
*Stop!*

Mirta pangkarrii mirnayhu!  
*not go-POT while-DET*  
*Don't go for a while!*

Also, in contrast with first person commands, the subject of second person commands is generally unexpressed - no matter what number it is in. It is understood to be *you* just as in English. However, examples can be found in which *nyinta you* is manifested:<sup>4</sup>

Nyinta karrima murrirni ngayhala!<sup>5</sup>  
*you stand-IMP behind I(LOC)*  
*You stand behind me!*

Nyinta mirta tyaamayii!<sup>6</sup>  
*you not yawn-POT*  
*Don't you yawn!*

The reader is also invited to turn to Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 3, where he will observe that the '*ocean*', in being commanded to recede, is addressed by its own name!<sup>7</sup>

There is also an informal or weak positive command, which is characterised by having its main verb in the potential mood. This

<sup>1</sup>See, for example, Text 22, sentence 2; Text 25, sentence 3; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 3; Text 76, paragraph 4, sentences 14 and 15; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

<sup>2</sup>For example, see Text 13, sentence 2 and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 10.

<sup>3</sup>Another pair can be found in Text 76, paragraph 5, sentences 5 and 6.

<sup>4</sup>See also Text 13, sentence 2, and Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 5.

<sup>5</sup>Ken M. Jerrold provided this example. Compare the one in the following mini-text formulated by Gilbert Bobby: Ngaliya nhaa pangkarri. *He and I are going.* Nyinta karrima! *You stay!*

<sup>6</sup>This one is from Hale 1959a:142. Hale's Yindjibarndi field notes also contain a number of other imperative sentences in which a personal pronoun is included as subject.

<sup>7</sup>See also Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 15, where half of the subject is expressed.

command occurs, for example, in recipes.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps a politer<sup>2</sup> version of the formal command.

Finally, we can also find verbless imperatives in the second person as for example:

Nhaungarra!  
look out  
Look out!

and see especially Text 25, sentence 2.

Third person imperatives are marked by the presence of the indeclineable kuyu *let* in initial position<sup>3</sup> in the sentence. Otherwise, they seem to follow the pattern established for second person commands<sup>4</sup> except that the subject is often mentioned.<sup>5</sup> For example:

Kuyu ngunhu pangkarrima!<sup>6</sup>  
let he go-IMP  
Let him go!

Kuyu mirta parnrtakayi yuntu!  
let not fall-POT rain  
Let it not rain!

There is even a third person command in the present tense. See Text 70, sentence 4.

<sup>1</sup>See Texts 17 and 41. See also Text 54, where the potential mood is used to give directions for working a sacred site.

<sup>2</sup>A suggestion which is immediately dismissed by all my better informants. However, observe in Text 13, sentence 3, how Gilbert Bobby delivers a positive command to a dead man, someone who is obviously a potential source of trouble. Compare also the way a devil addresses a man, when he finds himself in a weak position (see Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 10 through 12), with the way he talks, when he knows he holds the upper hand (see paragraph 5, sentences 5 and 6).

<sup>3</sup>I have never observed kuyu in any other position.

<sup>4</sup>Even to the extent that there is also a weak form of the positive imperative. See Text 17, sentence 3.

<sup>5</sup>However, the subject is not mentioned in Text 17, sentence 3 nor in Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 6.

<sup>6</sup>I should have translated this sentence *May he go!* to prevent the reader from confusing it with *Thaanma ngunhu pangkarraangu!* *Let him go!*, that is, *Allow him to go!*

It has already been observed<sup>1</sup> that direct objects<sup>2</sup> in imperative sentences are found in the nominative case rather than the objective case.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, one may well conclude that commands having the following grammar are what is to be expected as a rule:

Ngayu yungkuma pawa!<sup>4</sup>  
*to me give-IMP water*  
*Give me water!*

However, out of curiosity, I asked Long Mack if one could substitute pawayi for pawa in the above sentence.<sup>5</sup> He replied that one could use either form, but if he spoke the command using pawa (the nominative case), then he would get it 'right away'. Then he added that one usually said pawayi (the objective case) in sentences like

Ngayu yungkanha pawayi.  
*to me give-PAST water-OBJ*  
*Someone gave me water.*

but even here pawa was possible.<sup>6</sup>

Then I went to Ken M. Jerrold and asked him what the difference was, using wangka(yi) *language* (OBJ) in place of pawa(yi). He said that Yungkuma ngayu wangka! meant *Give me some language!*, while Yungkuma ngayu wangkayi! meant *Give me all the language!*. Gilbert Bobby, who I spoke to next, confirmed this interpretation, when I presented him with the same example only with ngamay(u) *tobacco* (OBJ) substituted

<sup>1</sup>See O'Grady and others 1966:102.

<sup>2</sup>Excluding non-third person pronouns, for example, Thaanma ngayu nhawaangu! *Let me see!* For examples involving the negative imperative, see Hale 1959a:24, 126. But not excluding third person pronouns (see Hale 1959a:24) and proper nouns, for example, Karlimanma Warrunha! *Hold Blackie back!*

<sup>3</sup>For relevant examples involving positive imperatives, see Text 25, sentence 3; Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 9; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 3; and Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 14. On the negative imperatives, see Text 48, sentence 3 and Hale 1959a:146.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Hale 1959a:36.

<sup>5</sup>I did this, because on another occasion Long Mack narrated Yungkuma ngayu thamayi!, then stopped for a moment, thought and then corrected himself by substituting the construction illustrated in Text 9, sentence 1.

<sup>6</sup>Indeed, if one goes through the Texts, he will find numerous non-imperative sentences in which the direct object is in the nominative case.

for *wangka(yi)*.<sup>1</sup> Thus, it appeared that there exists a partitive nominative in Yindjibarndi within the domain of imperative sentences.<sup>2</sup>

Later I went back to Long Mack and told him what the other two had said. He agreed that what they had told me was true. Then he gave me one last tidbit. He said that if one really wanted to use the form *pawayi* in the frame *Ngayu yungkuma*—!, he could provided he included *kupityau*, the objective case of the word for *little*. Thus, *Ngayu yungkuma kupityau pawayi!* means exactly the same as *Ngayu yungkuma pawa!*.

#### 4.2.3. Passivisation

Yindjibarndi, unlike the vast majority of indigenous Australian languages, is essentially of the Nominative/Accusative type.<sup>3</sup> Thus, with a transitive verb, the subject of a sentence is in the nominative case, while the direct object finds itself in the objective case.<sup>4</sup> Since the objective case in Yindjibarndi corresponds to the dative case<sup>5</sup> in other Australian languages, the normal transitive Yindjibarndi sentence resembles the 'antipassive'<sup>6</sup> in many of the Australian languages which possess such a transformation,<sup>7</sup> except that in these languages there is a special suffix on the verb. Therefore, it should come as no surprise to the reader to find that passivisation in

<sup>1</sup>This suggests that objective case markers have a quality of definiteness about them. Such definiteness can perhaps be perceived more clearly in a couple of sentences provided by Woodley King and Gilbert Bobby on different occasions and in different contexts: *Nhaa yungkuma pawayi mityalangu!* *Give me the water to drink!* and *Muntarnma wala kayawayiu ngaarnrtu ngarrkuyangu!* *Take that orange of mine away (from him)*, respectively. The Proto-Pama-Nyungan accusative case marker for pronouns and proper nouns, which was *-nha*, also seems to have been imbued with definiteness. For example, when attached to a  $\emptyset$ -stem verb, it produced past tense meaning. In Yindjibarndi the reflex of this suffix, along with *-na* and *-rna* (also past tense markers), has developed into a clitic meaning *one*.

<sup>2</sup>Compare Russian, which has a partitive genitive.

<sup>3</sup>Besides most of the other Ngayardic languages (see 1.1.4), there are also some languages of the Nominative/Accusative type in Western Queensland (see Hale 1970: 759). Leerdil is the best known of these (see Hale 1967; Klokeid 1976).

<sup>4</sup>Or the nominative case (see 3.1.1.2.2.2).

<sup>5</sup>That is, the case governing the indirect object.

<sup>6</sup>After Silverstein 1976.

<sup>7</sup>According to Blake (1977:20), all of them are situated in Queensland. See especially the example from Yalarnnga (1977:21), but Blake discusses the antipassive in a number of different languages in succeeding pages. See also McConvell 1976.

Yindjibarndi amounts to deriving an 'antiantipassive' construction, one which corresponds to the normal Ergative/Absolutive structure of transitive sentences in most Australian languages.<sup>1</sup>

To derive a passive transformation in Yindjibarndi, one takes the subject of the sentence, which is in the nominative case, and puts it into the instrumental case. The object of the verb, which is usually in the objective case, goes into the nominative case. Finally, a special intransitive verbaliser -nguli-<sup>2</sup> (VØ) is attached<sup>3</sup> to the stem of the transitive verb, which is then properly reinflected. So, for example,

Ngaarta thuwayina pattyarriu.  
man spear-PAST euro-OBJ  
*The man speared the euro.*

is transformed into

Ngaartalu thuwayingulinha pattyarri.  
man-INST spear-PASS-PAST euro  
*The euro got speared by the man.*

via the passive transformation rule. Similarly,

Kumirn paaku ngaartau.  
mosquito sting-PRES man-OBJ  
*A mosquito is stinging the man.*

can be rendered as

Kumirnrtu paanguli ngaarta.<sup>4</sup>  
mosquito-INST sting-PASS-PRES man  
*The man is being stung by a mosquito.*

And

Manguny waramarna marnii marnrtaau.  
primeval anima make-PAST mark-OBJ rock-LOC-OBJ  
*The primeval anima made the rock engravings.*

<sup>1</sup>Consider what Hale (1970:761) has to say on this point.

<sup>2</sup>See also the discussion on this verbaliser in 3.1.4.1.2.2.2.2.

<sup>3</sup>Except that in the perfective and optative, one may choose to use the special passive perfective and passive optative suffixes, which allow one to avoid using -nguli- at all. For example, see Text 59, sentence 1; Text 65, paragraph 2, sentence 1; and Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 5 on the passive perfect. On the passive optative, see Text 22, sentence 3 and consider the following examples: Ngayhalu karpanyaa marnrta. *The mountain might be gone up by me.* Nyinta kartaannyaa ngulu maurntulu. *You might get stabbed by that dueling spear.* See also the discussion on inflectional endings in 3.1.4.2.1.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. O'Grady 1966:76.

as

Mangunytyu                      waramangulinha marni marnrtaa.<sup>1</sup>  
 primeval anima-INST make-PASS-PAST mark rock-LOC  
*The rock engravings were made by the primeval anima.*

It does not matter, if the verb has no subject (see 4.2.1). So, for example,

Waramarna warnrtayi pakitku.  
 make-PAST wood-OBJ bucket-OBJ  
*Someone made a wooden bucket.*

can be rewritten as

Warnrta waramangulinha pakit.  
 wood make-PASS-PAST bucket  
*The bucket was made of wood.*

And

Ngayu wanpirna warnrtawari.  
 me hit-PAST stick-COM  
*Someone hit me with a stick.*

has the following interesting passive formation:

Ngayi wanpingulinha warnrtawarilu.<sup>2</sup>  
 I hit-PASS-PAST stick-COM-INST  
*I got hit by someone with a stick.*

Nor does it matter, if the verb has no object. Thus

Yuntu parnrtaaku.  
 rain fall-PRES  
*Rain is falling.*

easily transforms into:

Yuntuu parnrtanguli.<sup>3</sup>  
 rain-INST fall on-PASS-PRES  
*Something is being fallen on by the rain.*

Similarly,

Ngaarta wangka.  
 man say-PRES  
*The man is saying something.*

<sup>1</sup>See also Text 59.

<sup>2</sup>According to Gilbert Bobby, the simple instrumental warnrtau can also be used here (see 3.1.1.2.2.2), but not the bare comitative.

<sup>3</sup>An abbreviated version of Yuntuu parnrtanguli pii *The flat is being fallen on by the rain*, which is itself a passivisation of Yuntu parnrtaaku piiu *Rain is falling on the flat*. It is interesting to note that for Harold Ned the sentence as quoted in the text meant *It is starting to rain*. The reader may recall that -nguli- also functions as an inchoative verbaliser with certain nouns (see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2)

goes to:

Ngaartalu wangkanguli.<sup>1</sup>  
 man-INST say-PASS-PRES  
*Something is being said by the man.*

Note that wangka- say can be correctly passivised even though it is a Ø-stem<sup>2</sup> verb. All that is required for passivisation is that the verb be transitive.<sup>3</sup>

One word sentences, consisting of only a verb in passive voice, are also known. For example, see Text 22, sentence 3 and Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 9.

Intransitive verbs will definitely not undergo the passive transformation. For example, although it is quite correct to say

Ngayi pangkarri.  
 I go-PRES  
*I am going.*

it is completely impossible<sup>4</sup> to say:

\*Ngayhalu pangkarringuli.  
 by me go-PASS-PRES  
*\*It is being gone by me.*

Nor is it possible to derive a passive form for

Thuwarta wirtiurtaaku warnrtaa.  
 fruit be hanging-PRES tree-LOC  
*The fruit is hanging in the tree.*

because again the verb is intransitive.<sup>5</sup> The fact that it belongs to the L-stem class is irrelevant.

When a verb has two objects, a direct and an indirect one, the situation becomes more complicated. Now only the indirect object can be shifted into the nominative case. The direct object must remain in

<sup>1</sup>Compare the last sentence in Text 3 and Text 75.

<sup>2</sup>In this respect note also Manththu ngarrkunguli nhaa warnrta puwarluwarlu *This completely rotten wood is being eaten by termites* from Manththu ngarrku nhurnu warnrtayi puwarluwarlu *Termites are eating this completely rotten wood* and Karuwarkantu thurninguli ngayi *I am being laughed at by a kookaburra* from Karuwarkan thurni ngayu *A kookaburra is laughing at me.*

<sup>3</sup>One can even passivise Ngayi karpayi purpaau *I will go up the rise* to Ngayhalu karpangulii purpaa *The rise will be gone up by me.*

<sup>4</sup>I did actually get confirmation of this fact from Gilbert Bobby.

<sup>5</sup>That is, it is intransitive here. It can also be used transitively. See the Dictionary.

the objective case.<sup>1</sup> For example, the passive voice for

Ngaarta yungkunha ngayu murlayi.  
*man give-PAST to me meat-OBJ*  
*A man gave me the meat.*

is only:<sup>2</sup>

Ngayi yungkungulinha murlayi ngaartalu.  
*I give-PASS-PAST meat-OBJ man-INST*  
*I was given the meat by a man.*

The following alternative is utterly impossible:

\*Murla yungkungulinha ngayu ngaartalu.  
*meat give-PASS-PAST to me man-INST*  
*The meat was given to me by a man.*

Thus, it seems clear that passivisation in Yindjibarndi, while resembling that in English, is more restrictive - at least in this respect.

One last point must be brought up in relation to what has just been said, namely that the student of Yindjibarndi must take care not to confuse the differential treatment of two distinct kinds of verb object (direct and indirect) with that of two similar kinds of objects (either direct and direct or indirect and indirect) as would obtain, for instance, when a phrase illustrating inalienable possession (see 4.1.1.2) acts as the object of a verb. For example, in the following sentence

Puthi yirrwanha ngayu marayi.  
*cat scratch-PAST me hand-OBJ*  
*A cat scratched my hand.*

*hand* is being inalienably possessed by *me* and, consequently, in the passivised form

Ngayi mara yirrwangulinha puthingku.  
*I hand scratch-PASS-PAST cat-INST*  
*I was scratched on the hand by a cat.*

both objects, being direct ones, have been moved into the nominative case. In a similar manner,

<sup>1</sup>If the direct object were already in the nominative case, I can see no reason why it couldn't remain there.

<sup>2</sup>I checked this point carefully with both Gilbert Bobby and Jerry Jerrold. On another occasion I asked Gilbert Bobby to give me the passive voice of Ngaarta ngayu yungkunha ngamayiu *The man gave me tobacco*. I got exactly the same results. Ngaartalu ngayi yungkungulinha ngamayiu *I was given tobacco by the man* was accepted, and \*Ngaartalu ngayu yungkungulinha ngamayiu *Tobacco was given to me by the man* was rejected.



Manytyi warlu paarna wirtayi yawartau.  
*death adder snake bite-PAST leg-OBJ horse-OBJ*  
*A death adder bit the horse in the leg.*

is transformed into

Manytyiu warlungku paangulinha wirta yawarta.  
*death adder-INST snake-INST bite-PASS-PAST leg horse*  
*The horse got bit in the leg by a death adder.*

#### 4.2.4. Conjoining

##### 4.2.4.1. Nouns

Nouns may be conjoined through simple juxtaposition. Examples of this can be found in Text 29, sentence 2; Text 55, sentence 2; Text 56, sentence 2; Text 60, sentence 1; and Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 17.

However, there are special conjunctions, namely *muntu* and *wanta* and *then*, *also*, which can be employed. The following examples illustrate the differential use of these two conjunctions:

Ngayi puthli mankunha wanytyayi muntu.<sup>1</sup>  
*I cat-OBJ get-PAST dog-OBJ and*  
*I got a cat and a dog.*

Ngayi puthii mankunha wanytyayi wanta.  
*I cat-OBJ get-PAST dog-OBJ and then*  
*I got a cat and then a dog.*

In the first example, the cat and dog were gotten at the same time. In the second example, the subject received the cat first and then later got the dog.<sup>2</sup> *Wanta* can also convey the information that the noun being conjoined is of lesser importance than the noun to which it is being conjoined. In such a situation, for example, see the first sentence<sup>3</sup> in Text 74, this conjunction is perhaps best translated as *also*.

*Ngurni at the same time* seems to be used from time to time as a near synonym for *muntu*. Consider the following example<sup>4</sup> offered by Ken M. Jerrold:

<sup>1</sup>See also Text 63, paragraph 2, sentence 1 and Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 1.

<sup>2</sup>This fact was first pointed out to me by Ken M. Jerrold, while discussing the sentence *Parntayarna kuyharrau murlayi, tyirriwi kurrumanhthu wanta*. [*I found two animals, a porcupine and then a male bungarra*. Ken said that *wanta* means *then*. The difference between *muntu* and *wanta* was verified by Gilbert Bobby, using the two example sentences shown in the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>And then read the rest of the story. Contrast the last sentence in Text 76.

<sup>4</sup>And also Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 2.

Nyirramarta            martarru            piyulu            ngurni.  
*paint oneself-HAB red ochre-OBJ yellow ochre at the same time*  
*They used to put on red ochre and at the same time yellow ochre.*

However, it is also used in connection with conjoined verbs<sup>1</sup> and, therefore, its conjoining function may be more apparent than real.<sup>2</sup> I also received one example with *ngarti* *then* used as an apparent substitute for *wanta*:

Ngaartangarli, wartirrangarli ngarti<sup>3</sup> mangkurlarra.  
*man-PL woman-PL then children-PL*  
*Men, women and also children.*

Note, however, the different position<sup>4</sup> occupied by *ngarti*.

#### 4.2.4.2. Verbs

Verbs conjoin differently from nouns. Verb conjoining is effected primarily through the use of ordinary nominalising inflectional suffixes, which are supplemented by certain words, suffixes and clitics.

##### 4.2.4.2.1. With Same Subjects

In order to conjoin two verbs which have the same subject, one puts the verb belonging to the potential conjoined clause into an appropriate aspect or mood, and then deleting one of the subjects, he simply runs the two sentences<sup>5</sup> together, making a unitary one. For example, if the actions described by the two verbs are going on at the same time, the verb in the potential conjoined clause is put into the imperfective aspect as shown below:

Thurni.	Ngurruwarni.
<i>laugh-PRES</i>	<i>smile-PRES</i>
<i>Someone is laughing.</i>	<i>Someone is smiling.</i>

<sup>1</sup>See Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

<sup>2</sup>That is, it may just be providing supplementary content. Conjoining may just be being effected by non-immediate juxtaposition. This may also be the case in phrases such as *kumirnkula warrayi both the mosquito and the fly*, where *-kula both* (see 3.2.1.1.1) seems to act like a suffixal conjunction. But see Heath 1978:128, recalling that *-kula* responds to *Ngarluma -pula*. And also see my discussion on focal apposition in 4.1.1.3.

<sup>3</sup>Coppin Dale translated *ngarti* here as *next one coming up*.

<sup>4</sup>*Ngarti*, unlike *wanta*, is a noun. See 4.1.4.

<sup>5</sup>The potential conjoined clause is in fact a complete sentence. It is not essentially dependent upon the potential main clause, but can stand alone. For example, see 3.1.4.2.2 under imperfective aspect.

becomes

Thurningu, ngurruwarni.<sup>1</sup>  
*laugh-IMPRF smile-PRES*  
*Someone is laughing and smiling.*

The reader has perhaps already noticed that the conjoined clause in the sentence shown immediately above is really something which would be called a 'present participial phrase' in traditional grammar. In fact, such clauses can be translated into English either as conjoined clauses or participial phrases, depending upon the context. Compare, for example, the first sentence with the second, and the fifth sentence with the sixth in Text 51. Consider also Text 35, sentence 3 and Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 6.

If the actions described by the two verbs occur at different times, the situation becomes slightly more complicated. If the less important action is considered to precede the main action, then the verb describing it will go into the perfective aspect<sup>2</sup> and the clause which contains it will become the conjoined clause. Thus,

Kanangkarrinha	thaunku.	Mankunha	pirnrtu.
come-PAST	town-OBJ	get-PAST	food
<i>He came to town.</i>		<i>He got food.</i>	

becomes

Kanangkarraayi thaunku, mankunha pirnrtu.<sup>3</sup>  
*come-PRF town-OBJ get-PAST food*  
*Having come to town, he got food.*

But if the less important action follows the main one, then the verb describing it will go into the progressive aspect,<sup>4</sup> for example,

<sup>1</sup>In this particular instance one could just as well have said: Thurni, ngurruwarningu. *Someone is laughing and smiling.* But Long Mack chose to say it the other way. For a number of examples similar to this one, see Text 39, sentence 4; Text 47, sentence 2; Text 59, sentence 6; Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 2; Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 14; and Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 5.

<sup>2</sup>Unless the action described is contrary to fact, whereupon the dependent verb will go into the irrealis mood. See the third example in 4.2.5.

<sup>3</sup>For additional examples, see Text 46, sentence 1; Text 67, paragraph 2, sentence 5; and Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 1 and paragraph 4, sentence 4.

<sup>4</sup>Sometimes one finds such compound sentences with the inflections appearing in reverse order. Compare, for example, Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 2 with Text 77, paragraph 2, sentence 2. In such cases he will notice that the leading verb is usually describing the process of sitting down or standing up (see Text 19), which in most cases must be expressed in the progressive aspect. But see also Text 61, sentence 8.

Kanangkarrinha thaunku, mankungumarnu pirnrtu.<sup>1</sup>  
 come-PAST town-OBJ get-PROG food  
*He came to town and (then) got food.*

except in the case where the purpose of the main action is the less important action. Then the verb, describing this action, will go into the potential mood:<sup>2</sup>

Kanangkarrinha thaunku mankuwayi pirnrtu.<sup>3</sup>  
 come-PAST town-OBJ get-POT food  
*He came to town (in order) to get food.*

Note that the conjoined clause corresponds to an 'infinitive phrase'<sup>4</sup> in English.

#### 4.2.4.2.2. With Different Subjects

In order to conjoin two verbs having different subjects, the verb which will sit in the dependent<sup>5</sup> clause is first inflected for mood

<sup>1</sup>Text 57 contains a lot of examples with this kind of clause. See also Text 28, sentence 2 in which two of these clauses appear in series.

<sup>2</sup>Except when the leading verb is in the imperfective, progressive or a perfective aspect. Then, ordinarily, the goal verb will go into the imperfective aspect. See, for example, Text 55, sentence 6; Text 57, paragraph 2, sentences 1 and 2; and Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 5. But see also Text 76, paragraph 2, sentences 8 and 12.

<sup>3</sup>It is also possible to have two purposive clauses in parallel. For example, Ngayi pangkarri thaunku nhawayi ngarrtau mankuwayi pirnrtuu. *I am going to town to see a friend and to get food.* And in series: Ngayi pangkarrii punpia parnii tyiyarringu pattyarriu thuwayikayi. *I am going to go sit in a blind and wait to spear a euro.* Note that there are no grammatical differences between the parallel and serial constructions. Context alone is usually sufficient to disambiguate them. However, minityarnu *as well* can be used to mark parallel constructions, which might otherwise be taken to be serial ones. See Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 9 and paragraph 3, sentence 10. Also, one of the parallel clauses can be put into the imperfective aspect. See Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

<sup>4</sup>But not always. For example, see Text 17, sentence 1. And see also Text 25, sentence 2, where there is a purposive clause without a leading verb.

<sup>5</sup>In this case, unlike the preceding one, the conjoined clause is dependent. It definitely cannot stand alone as a complete sentence with the conjoining suffix attached. Moreover, when the verb in this clause is inflected for imperfective aspect, it will be pre-marked with a special dependency suffix -ya-, providing it belongs to the 'Ø'-stem class.

or aspect<sup>1</sup> and then is marked with the locative suffix *-la*,<sup>2</sup> which serves as a conjunction. For example,

Yungkuma ngayu kayawayi!  
*give-IMP to me orange*  
*Give me an orange!*

Ngayi ngarrkuwayi.  
*I eat-POT*  
*I will eat it.*

becomes

Yungkuma ngayu kayawayi, ngayi ngarrkuwayila!<sup>3</sup>  
*give-IMP to me orange I eat-POT-LOC*  
*Give me an orange, and I will eat it!*

It is not easy to find appropriate examples in which the dependent verb is in something other than the potential mood,<sup>4</sup> because other moods and aspects usually seem to require that other English conjunctions be used in the translation.<sup>5</sup>

#### 4.2.4.2.3. With Different Constituents in Common

In order to conjoin two verbs which have different subjects, but some other nominal constituent in common, it being the subject in one sentence and something else in the other, one treats the former sentence as the potential conjoined clause, deletes the subject, puts the verb into an appropriate aspect or mood, marks everything<sup>6</sup> in the emerging dependent clause which is not an indeclineable for objective

<sup>1</sup>If the verb is inflected for tense, then it will obviously be impossible to attach the conjoining suffix to it, because tense markers are clitics and when they are attached to verb stems, they form indeclineables (see 3.3.3).

<sup>2</sup>There is no doubt whatsoever that *-la* is in fact the locative suffix, for in Ngarluma all nominal elements of such conjoined clauses are in the locative case, disyllabic common nouns ending in a vowel receiving *-ngka* and *ngayi I* being represented by *ngathala* (see Hale 1960:236-40).

<sup>3</sup>Compare Yungkuma ngayu kayawayi ngarrkaangu! *Give me an orange to eat!* For a discussion on the grammar of this kind of sentence, see the following section.

<sup>4</sup>Even so, I can only find one other relevant example with the dependent verb in the potential aspect. It is: Wangkawimanma wangkayharnrtu, wanyaarriila ngani wangkayii! *Turn on the radio, and I will listen to what it will say!*

<sup>5</sup>See especially 4.2.4.3, but also 4.2.5. In fact even when the dependent verb is in the potential mood, the English translation will sometimes contain a different conjunction. See, for example, Text 9, sentence 2.

<sup>6</sup>In practice not everything is marked. See, for example, Text 57, paragraph 1, sentence 3 and Text 61, sentence 5.

case, and then attaches it to the other sentence, which becomes the independent main clause. For example,

Ngayi nhau                    ngaartau.  
I        watch-PRES man-OBJ  
I am watching a man.

Ngaarta karri                    kartangka warnrtaa,  
man        stand-PRES bottom-LOC tree-LOC  
The man is standing under a tree,

muukarringu payipau.  
smoke-IMPRF pipe-OBJ  
smoking a pipe.

becomes<sup>1</sup>

Ngayi nhau                    ngaartau,  
I        watch-PRES man-OBJ  
I am watching a man,

karriyangu kartangkau                    warnrtaa,  
stand-DEP bottom-LOC-OBJ tree-LOC-OBJ  
standing under a tree and

muukarriyangu                    payipau.<sup>2</sup>  
smoke-DEP                    pipe-OBJ  
smoking a pipe.

The reader will note in the above example that there is a special form for the imperfective aspect marker, when it occurs with 'Ø'-stem verbs in dependent clauses.<sup>3</sup> This dependent imperfective aspect marker (DEP) consists of a bound dependency marker -ya- plus the imperfective aspect marker. Verbs belonging to other stem classes have no special markings in that context. They employ the ordinary imperfective aspect marker for their respective classes.<sup>4</sup>

In this next example, the constituent being referenced in the main clause is in the locative case:

<sup>1</sup>In the example which follows in the text, the dependent clauses are conjoined in parallel. See Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 13 for an example in which the clauses are linked in series.

<sup>2</sup>Compare the following sentence: Ngayi nhau ngaartau, karringu kartangka warnrtaa, muukarringu payipau. *I am standing under a tree, smoking a pipe and watching a man.*

<sup>3</sup>However, when two of these verbs stand in parallel one may appear in the ordinary imperfective aspect. See, for example, Text 57, paragraph 1, sentence 3; Text 70, sentence 3; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5 and paragraph 2, sentence 11. But see also Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, Text 58, sentence 3 and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5.

Ngayi wiyanu pangkarri pattyarrila,  
 I hunting go-PRES euro-LOC  
 I am going hunting for the euro, (which is)

parniyangu parungkau.  
 sit-DEP spinifex-LOC-OBJ  
 sitting in the spinifex.

On another occasion I received the same sentence, but with a different dependent clause, which is reproduced below:

...wirruulam' yurrangkau tyayakaayiu.  
 different-LOC-ANA day-LOC-OBJ get away-PRF-OBJ  
 ...that got away the other day.

Note how the dependent verb in perfective aspect is marked for objective case.<sup>1</sup>

On rare occasions, one can find a dependent conjoined clause, having its verb in the optative or potential mood. See Text 74, paragraph 2, sentences 4 and 5, respectively.

When the action described by the verb in the potential dependent conjoined clause occurs as a direct result of the action described by the verb in the independent main clause, the verb in the former will go into the infinitive aspect as shown below:

Ngayi wangkanha ngaarnrtu ngaartau  
 I tell-PAST my friend-OBJ  
 I told my friend

wanhthilau parnaangu,  
 where-OBJ sit-INF  
 where to sit

tyiyarringu ngayu.  
 wait for-IMPRF me  
 and wait for me.

It is possible to say tyiyarraangu in the example given above, but ordinarily when there are two infinitive clauses in parallel, the verb in the second one will be in the imperfective aspect.<sup>2</sup>

The next example shows that it is not necessary for the main clause to contain a transitive verb in order to have a dependent clause, containing a verb in the infinitive aspect, attached to it:

<sup>1</sup>It is similarly marked in Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 2; Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 5; Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 4 and paragraph 4, sentence 11, but not in Text 53, paragraph 2, sentence 2. See also Text 65, paragraph 2, sentence 1, where the dependent verb is inflected with the passive perfective aspect marker.

<sup>2</sup>See also Text 59, sentence 6 and Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 9. But note how the corresponding verb in Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 4 is in the infinitive aspect, evidently because it is connected in series to the preceding verb, which is also in infinitive aspect.

Yaala muyhu munti ngayu pangkarraangu tyipi.  
*now cold really for me go-INF naked*  
*It's too cold now for me to go around naked.*

Dependent conjoined clauses, containing a verb in the infinitive aspect, do not always translate into English in a uniform manner. For example, consider the following sentences:<sup>1</sup>

Ngayi mirnrtinymarna pattyarriu tyilamanpari tharkarraangu.  
*I shoot-PAST euro-OBJ rifle-COM thud-INF*  
*I shot the euro with a rifle and it (the euro) thudded.*

Ngayi tyumpikayi arintyiu pawayi yintaangu.  
*I squeeze-POT orange-OBJ juice-OBJ run down-INF*  
*I will squeeze the orange until the juice flows.*

Ngayi pangkarrii yuralau nhawayi yuntu waramalangu.  
*I go-POT rainmaker-OBJ see-POT rain make-INF*  
*I am going to go see the rainmaker to get him to make rain.*

#### 4.2.4.3. Temporal and Spatial Clauses

Temporal clauses possess exactly the same grammatical structure as the conjoined clauses that we have just discussed. The strategies used to express *before*,<sup>2</sup> *when*<sup>3</sup> and *after*<sup>4</sup> in temporal clauses are verbal as shown below:

Yurra mirta karpaayila, ngayi thurlawarninha.  
*sun not rise-PRF-LOC I wake up-PAST*  
*Before the sun rose, I woke up.*

Yurra karpayangula, ngayi karpanha pampangu.  
*sun rise-DEP-LOC I get up-PAST sleep-ABL*  
*When the sun rose, I got up.*

Yurra karpaayila, ngayi pangkarrinha warrkamuwarta.<sup>5</sup>  
*sun rise-PRF-LOC I go-PAST wor -DIR ALL*  
*After the sun rose, I went to work.*

<sup>1</sup>And see also Text 18, sentence 3.

<sup>2</sup>See also Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 3.

<sup>3</sup>See also Text 15, sentence 1; Text 70, sentence 1; and Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 4.

<sup>4</sup>See also Text 47, sentence 1; Text 56, sentence 6; Text 62, paragraph 2, sentence 1; Text 65, paragraph 2, sentence 1; Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 6; Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 10; and Text 77, paragraph 2, sentence 2.

<sup>5</sup>At this point it might be worth mentioning the following example: Ngayi warrkamurrinha, yaalamu yurra karpaayila, yurra tharrwaayila yini. *I worked from sunrise till sunset.*



'While' clauses<sup>1</sup> appear as 'when' clauses. For example, consider the following sentence:

Ngayi kaant wangkayi, mityarnu pawayi.  
*I can't talk-POT drink-IMPRF water-OBJ*  
*I can't talk, while I'm drinking water.*

'As' clauses<sup>2</sup> again have the same structure as 'when' and 'while' clauses.

Yindjibarndi spatial or 'where' clauses<sup>3</sup> are organised exactly like temporal clauses as shown by the following example:

Yinpirrpanha parniyangula, maya wanhthangulinha yirtiyamantu.<sup>4</sup>  
*Long Mack-PN live-DEP-LOC house build-PASS-PAST shire-INST*  
*The house, where Long Mack lives, was built by the shire.*

'In which', etc. clauses are structurally equivalent to 'where' clauses:

Wanhthila nyinta wanhtharna ngurnu tyiayi,  
*where you put-PAST that(OBJ) chair-OBJ*  
*Where did you put that chair,*  
  
 ngayi parnaayila wirruulam' pampanyaala?  
*I sit-PRF-LOC last week-LOC*  
*that I sat in last week?*

#### 4.2.4.4. Relative Clauses

Again, relative clauses possess the same structure as conjoined clauses. The only difference is that they have an added relative pronoun, which is identical in form to the interrogative pronoun (see 3.1.2.2) having the same meaning. The following sentence contains an example of a relative clause:

Palamumu payankarra pangkarrimarta marlangka pirtuwirtaala,  
*long long ago warrior go-HAB behind scout-LOC*  
*Long long ago the warriors used to march behind the scouts,*

<sup>1</sup>See also Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 2; Text 75, paragraph 3, sentences 3 and 11, and paragraph 5, sentence 13; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 16.

<sup>2</sup>See Text 63, paragraph 3, sentence 5; Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 4 and paragraph 6, sentences 4 and 12; and Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 13.

<sup>3</sup>See also Text 66, paragraph 2, sentence 2; Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 3; Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5.

<sup>4</sup>I got this example from Gilbert Bobby. Compare Harold Ned's offering: Ngunhaana yirtiyamantu wanhthangulaayi, Yinpirrpa parniyangula. *The one, where Long Mack lives, has been built by the shire.*

nganangu wayharriyangu payayi      maap.<sup>1</sup>  
 who-OBJ look for-DEP fierce-OBJ bunch  
 who were looking for the fierce mob.

The reader should be sure to see the very interesting example which appears in Text 58, sentence 3.

True relative clauses, of the type which has just been discussed, are extremely rare. When one finds a relative clause in an English translation, it nearly always corresponds to an ordinary conjoined clause in Yindjibarndi. See, for example, Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 11; Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 2; and Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 4.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4.2.4.5. Reason and Condition Clauses

Finally we come to reason and condition clauses. And again, when we consider the examples given, we find that these kinds of clauses correspond in structure to ordinary conjoined clauses with the exception that they contain an additional suffix or clitic. For example, 'because' clauses have a characteristic causal suffix (BEC) attached to the verb as shown below:<sup>3</sup>

Nyampali yungkunha mangkurlau thuwartau,  
 boss give-PAST child-OBJ sweet-OBJ  
 The boss gave the child the sweets,

purpiwarnaaayirra.  
 want-PRF-BEC  
 because he wanted to.

Nyampali yungkunha mangkurlau thuwartau,  
 boss give-PAST child-OBJ sweet-OBJ  
 The boss gave the child the sweets,

purpiwarnaaayilarra.  
 want-PRF-LOC-BEC  
 because he wanted them.

Sometimes an optional truth clitic (TRU) is added, for example,<sup>4</sup>

Mangkurla waarri,                      muyakaayirranyu muni.  
 child be afraid-PRES steal-PRF-BEC-TRU money  
 The child is afraid, because he really did steal the money.

<sup>1</sup>Compare the following sentence: Palamumu payankarra pangkarrimarta marlangka pirtuwirtaala, ngana wayharringu payayi maap. *Long long ago the warriors, who were looking for the fierce mob, used to march behind the scouts.* I checked both of these examples with Gilbert Bobby.

<sup>2</sup>See also Hale 1976a.

<sup>3</sup>See also Text 63, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

<sup>4</sup>See also Text 65, paragraph 2, sentence 4.

'If' clauses are indicated by the determiner clitic (DET) as shown in the following examples:

Panhthawayiu nhaunguyhu, wanpikayi warnrtawari.  
 perentie-OBJ see-IMPRF-DET beat-POT stick-COM  
*If you see a perentie, hit it with a stick.*

Often the 'then' clause is marked in the same manner, for example,

Nyinta ngarringu pampa yaalayhu,  
 you sleep-IMPRF now-DET  
*If you sleep now,*

warrungkayhu mirtawa pampa ngarrii.  
 night-LOC-DET not-EMP sleep-POT  
*then you won't sleep tonight.*

Tyirrityirrinhayhu tharrwakaayila thamayi pawangka,  
 willy wagtail-PN-DET insert-PRF-LOC fire-OBJ water-LOC  
*If Willy Wagtail had stuck the fire in the water,*

ngayinhtharriyhu ngarrkuwayingu wankayi murlayi.<sup>1</sup>  
 we-DET eat-IRR raw-OBJ meat-OBJ  
*then we would eat meat raw.*

#### 4.2.5. Disjunction<sup>2</sup>

Yindjibarndi lacks a special construction for disjunction. In order to express this concept one uses essentially the construction for conjoining. For example, one might ask a native speaker the following question:

Wanhthinhau nyinta purpi - nhurnu, ngurnu?  
 which one-OBJ you want this(OBJ) that(OBJ)  
*Which one do you want - this one or that one?*

He will say 'ngau' *yes*, if he wants either one or the other or both, 'mirta' *no*, if he want neither. He replies in this manner, because Yindjibarndi, unlike English, employs inclusive disjunction, which actually expresses an 'and/or' proposition. Unfortunately, his reply causes much confusion and frustration for the unsuspecting student of the language. It can also lead to misunderstandings.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Compare Text 74, paragraph 3, sentence 3.

<sup>2</sup>See also Dixon's (1972:363-64) discussion.

<sup>3</sup>In this regard see the example taken from Worora, which is mentioned in Dixon 1972:361.

I was fortunate enough to record one sure example<sup>1</sup> of disjunction in a statement. It is found in the first sentence in Text 55. The basic format is again exactly the same as that for conjoining, a fact which can be perceived by examining the very next sentence in the same Text.

Disjunction may also occur in connection with verbs. For example:

Nyinta nhaungarra, ngayi nyinku kartaatyaala!  
*you watch out I you(OBJ) spear-OPT-LOC*  
*You watch out, or I might spear you!*

In the few other very similar examples that I collected, the disjoined verb is also in the optative mood.

Native speakers, who have a command of English, will sometimes use a borrowed form of English 'or', that is uu, as an exclusive disjunctive.<sup>2</sup> For example, they will phrase the first example illustrated in this section in the following manner:

Wanhthinhau nyinta purpi - nhurnu uu ngurnu?

To which the answer is logically

Ngayi purpi nhurnu.  
*I want this(OBJ)*  
*I want this one.*

or

Ngurnu.  
*that(OBJ)*  
*That one.*

The reader is urged to be careful in employing this latter construction. If he uses it on a speaker who lacks an in-depth knowledge of English, he will find that the person addressed will treat this query like an ordinary inclusive-disjunctive question.

Yindjibarndi uses *muntiyaamu apparently* and *thampa but* to express adversative disjunction (contrast). In this regard see the very interesting example involving nouns, which occurs in Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 16. Consider also the following sentence in which two verbs are contrastively disjoined:

<sup>1</sup>It is not clear to me whether the juxtaposition of nouns noted in Text 23, sentence 1, is best interpreted as disjunction or apposition, that is, whether *warrimayila parkarrala* should be translated as *in the grasslands or plain* or as *in the grasslands, that is, in the plain*.

<sup>2</sup>I wish to thank Gilbert Bobby for bringing this word to my attention and for discussing its use with me.

Muntiyaamu pangkarriingu, ngayi parninha.<sup>1</sup>  
*apparently go-IRR I stay-PAST*  
*I was going to go, but I stayed.*

Note that *thampa* has been omitted here, but it is often not found in circumstances where 'but' is required in English. See, for example, Text 23, sentence 3, and Text 53, paragraph 2, sentence 5. On the other hand, the borrowing *paat* *but* cannot be used in this context,<sup>2</sup> and therefore it may well be that *thampa* cannot be used in association with disjunctively conjoined verbs.

#### 4.2.6. Comparative and Superlative

Yindjibarndi, unlike English, does not have special forms for the comparative and superlative. Both degrees are phrased in terms of the positive form of the nominal.

There are two ways to express the comparative - through the use of a bipolar nominative construction or by putting the referent in the objective case. The following is an example<sup>3</sup> of a 'bipolar' comparative:

Nyinta tyintyimama; ngayi patya.<sup>4</sup>  
*you obese I bony*  
*You are fatter than I.*

This construction is the preferred one.<sup>5</sup> It is used by nearly<sup>6</sup> everyone. However, there is another one, which is not commonly used.<sup>7</sup> This second type more closely resembles the English construction.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Thanks to Long Mack for providing this excellent example.

<sup>2</sup>I am assured of this by Gilbert Bobby, who says that *paat* is only used to begin a sentence. In this respect it seems to equate more with 'however'.

<sup>3</sup>I asked Harold Ned to tell me how to say *I am going to a better place*. He said, Ngayi pangkarri markurraarta ngurraarta. This is probably another example of a bipolar comparative except that the other 'pole', *Nhaa watyi This one is bad*, has been omitted.

<sup>4</sup>To make *I am skinnier than you*, reverse the order of the two falsely conjoined clauses. For a short discussion of false conjoining see the use of the semicolon in 2.3.3.

<sup>5</sup>In fact it appears to be fairly common all around Australia. For example, see Blake (1969:69), who gives a similar example in Kalkatungu.

<sup>6</sup>However, Gilbert Bobby refuses to accept it as an adequate translation for the English comparative.

<sup>7</sup>Gilbert Bobby insists that this is the only way to express the comparative in Yindjibarndi.

<sup>8</sup>But I don't think that it was borrowed, because the same construction also occurs in Kunjen. See Sommer 1972:37.

For example:

Nyinta tyintyimama ngaarta ngayu.  
*you obese man to me*  
*You are a fat man compared to me.*

The student of Yindjibarndi, who wishes to have a good command of the language, would do well to become familiar with both types.

The superlative is of the absolute type. It is constructed by postposing the superlativiser (SUPER) 'muntiyhu'<sup>1</sup> to the nominal, which is to be put into the superlative degree. For example:<sup>2</sup>

Nhaampa ngamayi mirtawaty muntiyhu.<sup>3</sup>  
*this-TOP tobacco good SUPER*  
*This tobacco is the best.*

The next example is especially interesting, because there the superlative possesses an adverbial character:

Walaakumpa<sup>4</sup> ngamayiu ngayiyhu mirta purpi muntiyhu.  
*that-OBJ-TOP tobacco-OBJ I-DET not like SUPER*  
*I myself like that tobacco the least.*

Note that the superlativiser is postposed to the noun *like*, which operates within the sentence as if it were a verb.

#### 4.2.7. Embedding

I collected a number of sentences, containing more than a single verb,<sup>5</sup> which cannot be analysed as being compound in type – the result of a conjoining rule. All of them appear to be of the complex type, containing an embedded sentence.

<sup>1</sup>Which consists of the noun *munti* *really* plus the determiner. However, in Text 67, sentence 1, we find a superlative construction, employing only *munti*.

<sup>2</sup>The following example and the one after that were provided by Gilbert Bobby. Also consider this sentence given by Jack Ray: *Kutyipirupiru parninha mawarnkarra mirtawaty muntiyhu. Rainbow Bird was the best of doctors.*

<sup>3</sup>A more literal translation of this sentence might be *This tobacco is the really good one.*

<sup>4</sup>The topic clitic, which appears here and in the preceding sentence, has nothing to do with forming the superlative. It is interesting to observe, however, how the topicalised object of the verb has been shifted to an unusual position in the sentence. See the discussion on word order in 4.2.8. See also Blake 1969:71.

<sup>5</sup>Sometimes, however, the second verb is unexpressed, for example, *Ngayi kurkanytyarnu nyinta yirriri, I think that you are sick.* See also Text 34, sentence 1 and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

In one kind of complex sentence we find a clause acting as the direct object of a verb. Such sentences are reasonably common in the Advanced Texts and in the Sacred Texts.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to observe that when a clause occurs in this function, the embedded verb may be marked either for aspect or mood or for tense. When it is inflected for aspect or mood, then all the constituents of the embedded sentence which are not indeclineables may be marked with objective case markers.<sup>2</sup> But when the embedded verb is inflected for tense, the entire embedded sentence is treated as an indeclineable<sup>3</sup> with none of its constituents being permitted to be marked for objective case except, of course, those which are the direct or indirect object of

<sup>1</sup>See Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 1; paragraph 2, sentence 12; Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 6; Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 3 (note nesting); Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 4; paragraph 6, sentence 3; and Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

<sup>2</sup>See, for example, Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 4 and also further below in the Grammar. Ordinarily not all of the constituents will be so marked, however. For example, verbs which are inflected with imperfective and passive perfective aspect markers seem never to appear with objective case markers attached to them. But this is no doubt because there is a special dependent form for the imperfective aspect marker, and the passive perfective aspect marker already has the dependency marker -ya- included with it (see 3.1.4.2.1). Other non-indeclineables may or may not be marked evidently at the whimsy of the speaker. Compare Text 76, paragraph 6, sentence 3, with the example just given. However, there is also some evidence to indicate that nominal elements of an embedded sentence which is serving as the object of a verb may not be marked either for dependency or objective case, when the subject of the embedded sentence is identical to that of the verb of which it is an object. Consider the following example, which was dictated by Ken M. Jerrold and affirmed to be grammatically correct by Gilbert Bobby:

Ngayi mankunha arlipala tyutyungu.  
 I pick up-PAST early old fellow-OBJ  
 I picked up an old fellow early this morning.

Ngunhaa ngayu wangkanha pangkarringu tyampa nhawayi  
 he to me tell-PAST go-IMPRF little while check-POT  
 He told me that he was going for a little while to check

marnrtayi ngurrangkau parniyangu "pillow"ngka.  
 money-OBJ home-LOC-OBJ be-DEP -LOC  
 the money that was at home under the pillow.

Compare the treatment of the piece "pangkarringu tyampa", which is the object of the verb "wangkanha" with that of "marnrtayi...", which is the object of "nhawayi". See also Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

<sup>3</sup>Remember that aspect and mood markers are suffixes, producing nominalised verbs, while tense markers are clitics, which produce indeclineables (see 3.3.1).

the embedded verb itself.<sup>1</sup> Compare the following two sentences:

Ngayi mirta mirnu wanhtharni pangkarrinha Arrarlinha.  
*I not knowing to where go-PAST Harold-PN*  
*I don't know where Harold went.*

Ngayi mirta mirnu wanhtharniu pangkarraayiu Arrarlingu.  
*I not knowing to where-OBJ go-PRF-OBJ Harold-OBJ*  
*I don't know where Harold has gone.*

Now consider the following paradigm, which is designed to provide a fuller understanding of the range of structural variation possible among embedded sentences, functioning as direct objects:<sup>2</sup>

Ngayi nhaunha nganii yungkunha nyinku ngunhu ngaarta.  
*I see-PAST what-OBJ give-PAST to you that man*  
*I saw what that man gave you.*

yungkuyangu nyinku ngurnu ngaartau.  
*give-DEP to you that(OBJ) man-OBJ*  
*that man was giving you.*

yungkaayiu nyinku ngurnu ngaartau  
*give-PRF-OBJ to you that(OBJ) man-OBJ*  
*that man has given you.*

yungkungulinha nyinta ngulu ngaartalu.  
*give-PASS-PAST you by that man-INST*  
*was given to you by that man.*

yungkunguliyangu nyinku ngulu ngaartalu.<sup>3</sup>  
*give-PASS-DEP you(OBJ) by that man-INST*  
*was being given to you by that man.*

yungkungulaayiu nyinku ngulu ngaartalu.  
*give-PASS-PRF-OBJ you(OBJ) by that man-INST*  
*has been given to you by that man.*

<sup>1</sup>I went over this point very carefully with Gilbert Bobby. For examples in addition to those found immediately below (and further on) in the Grammar, see especially Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 6 and also consider the second sentence in the following set:

Ngayi parninha tyiyarringu parraawa.  
*I sit-PAST wait-IMPRF long time-EMP*  
*I have been sitting and waiting for a long time.*

Ngayi kurkanytyaku ngunhaana tyutyunha ngayu  
*I think-PRES that one old fellow-PN to me*  
*I think that that old fellow*

thathayi parrwarna. Pangkarrinha ngarraurlu.  
*tell a lie-PAST go for good-PAST*  
*told me a lie. He left for good.*

<sup>2</sup>I checked the sentences in this paradigm with Gilbert Bobby.

<sup>3</sup>It is also possible to mark the instrumental phrase with objective case markers, but this evidently is usually not done.



yungkuyangaarnu nyinku ngulu ngaartalu.<sup>1</sup>  
*give-PASS PRF you(OBJ) by that man-INST*  
*has been given to you by that man.*

'Whether' clauses constitute an interesting variation in that they are indicated by the interrogative clitic (QUES). I only collected one example, containing such a clause. It is presented immediately below:

Ngayi pangkarrinha mirlimirlimayaarta  
*I go-PAST Post Office-DIR ALL*  
*I went to the Post Office*

nhawayi mirlimirliu ngaarnrtu ngarriyangunta.  
*see-POT letter-OBJ my be-DEP-QUES*  
*to see whether there was a letter for me.*

Examples of sentences containing embedded clauses in other structural positions are rare. I have only been able to find two. In the first one, which is shown immediately below, an embedded sentence is functioning as the subject of the sentence:

Karringu wirnamaku ngayu.<sup>2</sup>  
*stand-IMPRF tired-FACT-PRES me*  
*Standing makes me tired.*

In the second, an embedded sentence serves as the basis for a locative phrase, that is,

Kuyharramarnula wilarrala ngayi karlinytyarrii.<sup>3</sup>  
*two-FACT-IMPRF-LOC month-LOC I return-POT*  
*At the completion of two months I shall return.*

The reader will specifically note that this sentence definitely does not possess the same structure as the second example in 4.2.4.3, which it superficially resembles. -la cannot be deleted from wilarrala in the example shown here, whereas yurra day must remain in the nominative case in the contrasting example mentioned in the other section.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This clause means exactly the same thing as the immediately preceding one.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Karringu wirnawarni ngayi *I get tired standing*. Cheedy Ned and Gilbert Bobby assure me that both of these sentences, which were formulated by me, are grammatically correct.

<sup>3</sup>Thanks to Gilbert Bobby for providing this novel example.

<sup>4</sup>I checked this information carefully with Gilbert Bobby.

4.2.8. Word Order<sup>1</sup>

Take, for the sake of discussion, the following transitive<sup>2</sup> declarative<sup>3</sup> sentence:

Ngayi nhau nyinku.  
 I see-PRES you(OBJ)  
 I see you.

A mathematician will tell you that there are three!<sup>4</sup> ways to order the words which make up this sentence. And if one actually does go to the trouble of generating the six possible permutations and then reads them to a fluent speaker, he will find that every one of them constitutes an acceptable Yindjibarndi sentence.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, if he queries the Yindjibarndi speaker about potential differences in meaning between these various alternants, he will be told that there isn't any. Indeed, he will be told that there isn't even any difference in connotation.<sup>6</sup>

This is not to say, however, that all six permutations will be observed to occur with the same frequency in the context of normal discourse. If one examines a substantial quantity of data on Yindjibarndi,<sup>7</sup> he will see that two of them are strongly<sup>8</sup> favoured in

<sup>1</sup>See also 4.1.4.

<sup>2</sup>In intransitive declarative sentences the subject usually precedes the verb. However, the reverse is also possible. See, for example, Text 38, sentence 1; Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 1; and Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 8; paragraph 5, sentence 10; and paragraph 6, sentence 8.

<sup>3</sup>On peculiarities of word order within interrogative and imperative sentences see sections 4.2.2.2 and 4.2.2.3, respectively.

<sup>4</sup>That is, three factorial or  $3 \times 2 \times 1$ .

<sup>5</sup>I did actually attempt to go through the whole series, while my best grammarian constantly interrupted with interjections of the following sort: 'same one', 'just the same', 'anyway at all'. The point that I was trying to get at was evidently too obvious for him to bother with.

<sup>6</sup>I tried to determine whether the first word in a sentence was somehow 'marked' by asking whether it was more important than the others or whether one was 'pointing at it' by putting it in initial position. The answer was a flat 'no'. However, the reader should be aware of the fact that interrogative pronouns always occupy initial position in questions (see 4.2.2.2). Note also that the topicalised object of the verb in the fourth example in 4.2.6 appears in sentence-initial position, an unusual one for objects. On the other hand there are examples in which topicalised words appear in sentence-final position. See Text 49, sentence 7 and Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10. Finally, note Text 55, sentences 7 and 8.

<sup>7</sup>As, for example, is contained in my companion Texts.

<sup>8</sup>That is, they occur with a combined relative frequency of more than 90%.

terms of style. They are the one illustrated in the preceding paragraph<sup>1</sup> and

Ngayi nyinku    nhau.  
I        you(OBJ) see-PRES  
I see you.

From time to time, other orderings can also be observed.<sup>2</sup>

When an indirect object is added, the situation becomes more complex. Usually, it precedes the direct object and follows the verb.<sup>3</sup> But sometimes it follows the direct object<sup>4</sup> and then again it may precede the verb in a way such that the two objects straddle the verb.<sup>5</sup>

Positional restraints on locatives resemble somewhat those placed on objects. Spatial locatives for the most part<sup>6</sup> follow the verb, while temporal locatives may precede or follow the verb. When following the verb, the locative may precede or follow the object. Generally, the constituents in a locative phrase will occur juxtaposed to one another.<sup>7</sup> However, when there are two different locatives, one will precede the verb and the other will follow.<sup>8</sup> Ablatives and allatives nearly always<sup>9</sup> follow the verb.

<sup>1</sup>In view of the fact that the preceding one occurs six times more frequently than the following one in the Non-Sacred Texts and twice as frequently in the Sacred Texts, it seems doubtful that the word order contained in this sentence has been borrowed from English by stimulus diffusion. But it is quite possible that the presence of English has led to its being used with greater frequency than in pre-contact times.

<sup>2</sup>For example, see Text 7, sentence 2; Text 38, sentence 2; Text 74, paragraph 3, sentence 1; and Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 12.

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, Text 34, sentence 3; Text 56, sentence 2; Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 5 and paragraph 2, sentence 13; Text 75, paragraph 2, sentence 3 (with an embedded sentence as direct object); and Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 13. Note also Text 9, sentence 1, which is an imperative.

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, Text 18, sentence 3; Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 17; and Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 10.

<sup>5</sup>See, for example, Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 1 and paragraph 2, sentence 6 (the latter with an embedded sentence serving as direct object) and Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 7.

<sup>6</sup>But note Text 55, sentence 8 (compare with preceding sentence) and Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4. See also Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 5 where a locative precedes an intransitive verb and then compare sentence 3 in the same paragraph.

<sup>7</sup>But note Text 23, sentence 1.

<sup>8</sup>See, for example, Text 17, sentence 1 and Text 50, sentence 5, but also Text 32, sentence 2.

<sup>9</sup>But in Text 27, sentence 3 we find an ablative preceding an intransitive verb, and in Text 61, sentence 6 an allative object is found in a comparable position.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that although word order tends to be relatively fluid within the confines of a single clause, aside from the abovementioned restrictions, there is generally no mixing of words between distinct clauses which occur within a single sentence. I can only find a very few solid examples of split clauses. One appears in Text 75, paragraph 4, sentence 3. Here the main clause is dividing the second (infinitive-type) clause, which is conjoined to it. Another can be found in Text 14, sentence 1.

#### 4.2.9. Relations between Sentences<sup>1</sup>

I do not have a great deal to say about relations between independent sentences. Most of it consists of simple observations. However, for whatever it may be worth, I will make the following few comments:

The Yindjibarndi tend to be economical in their use of words, so that once a subject is mentioned, it tends not to be repeated in the sentences that follow, provided, of course, that the subject remains the same in them.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes a pronoun is substituted,<sup>3</sup> but ordinarily there is nothing at all. The situation with respect to other sentential constituents appears to be essentially the same. However, again, we do find cases in which objects<sup>4</sup> and locatives<sup>5</sup> are repeated.

In certain situations it may be difficult to determine whether two clauses constitute a single sentence or two different ones. This is because the verb inflections which are used to conjoin one clause to

<sup>1</sup>See also Rumsey 1978:231-67.

<sup>2</sup>See, for example, Texts 1, 10, 36, 37, 40 and 46. However, there may be some particular reason for repeating a subject. For example, in Texts 8 and 39 subjects are repeated, evidently as an aid to the English-speaking recorder. In Texts 15, 29 and 61 repetition of subjects is associated with anger or excitement. Emphasis seems to be indicated in Texts 21, 45, 49, 53 (paragraph 2) and 57 (paragraph 1). On the other hand there appears to be no explanation for the repetition of subjects observed in Texts 34, 38, 57 (paragraph 2) and 68. But the reader may be interested to know that in the last case mentioned, there is no change of subject at all throughout the whole rather long story and perhaps for that very reason the subject tends to be repeated at random intervals as a reminder to the reader.

<sup>3</sup>For example, see Text 3. But then the pronoun itself is not repeated in the sentences that follow. See Text 47.

<sup>4</sup>See Text 8 and Text 29, sentences 3 through 5.

<sup>5</sup>See Text 55, sentences 7 through 9. The repetition here must be for the sake of emphasis or something similar. See especially sentence 8.

another may also appear in independent verbs.<sup>1</sup> In such situations, one must try to listen for a pause between the clauses. If it sounds very long, one should probably conclude that both clauses are in fact independent sentences.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, one will find that on occasion two clauses, which on grammatical grounds must be treated as independent sentences, are so closely interrelated semantically that one feels compelled to treat them as a single sentence. In such situations, I have already suggested that the two sentences be joined by a semicolon as they would be in English.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See the discussion on the functions of verb endings in section 3.1.4.2.2 especially under the imperfective, perfective and progressive aspects and also potential mood.

<sup>2</sup>As I have done in Text 57, paragraph 2, sentence 3 (note also repetition of subject); Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 2; and Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 9.

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, the first example in 2.3.3.



PART II  
GRADED TEXTS





## INTRODUCTION

These texts are divided into two main sections, a sacred and a non-sacred one. The sacred texts consist of traditional stories, which codify events which are said to have occurred 'ngurranyutyungkamu', literally *back when the earth was soft*, that is, at the beginning of the world. They describe the exploits of the deity, devils, the not always so angelic bird-men and, of course, the first Aborigines. Now even though these texts are sacred, they are *not secret*. Gilbert Bobby has assured me that they can even be heard by little girls.

Any text that is not sacred is termed non-sacred. Non-sacred texts, while not being traditional stories, may well comment on aspects of traditional life as, for example, making war or preparing for a corroboree. They may even include statements on sacred aspects, such as initiation or rock art. But these texts are never sacred in the sense defined above. Non-sacred texts may also describe some modern experience such as digging a well or fixing a flat tyre. A number of texts concern the activities of animals, both native and introduced. Thus, non-sacred stories touch upon a wide variety of topics.

The non-sacred texts are divided into three parts: elementary, intermediate and advanced. The elementary texts are short and simple, and therefore suitable for use by the beginner in learning to read Yindjibarndi. The intermediate texts are generally longer and incorporate more complex grammar. One would be expected to have some knowledge of Yindjibarndi in order to be able to read them. Finally, the advanced texts are on the whole longest and have the most complex grammar except for the sacred texts, which are all very involved even though some of them are shorter than certain of the non-sacred texts. The last three sacred texts are the most intricate of all. The antepenultimate is very difficult, while the last two, which form a unit, are not only very difficult, but also contain a number of hurdles, designed by the narrator to test the reading ability of the very advanced student. The penultimate and final text, taken together, and the preceding one also constitute the longest texts in the book.

Because this work is to be used for educational purposes, I have had to alter certain of the non-sacred texts to a minor degree. Namely, I corrected all mispronounced words. I also removed some foreign words, replacing them with Yindjibarndi equivalents. However, I did leave in English words which have no real synonyms in Yindjibarndi, Yindjibarndi words which have their source in pidgin English, and non-Yindjibarndi words which have more or less replaced their Yindjibarndi counterparts.

I also deleted parts of a few texts, which were not interesting or which were redundant with respect to one or more included text. In a few instances, I spliced interesting pieces of a text, which was otherwise redundant or inappropriate, into another selected text. Thus, scholars who are interested in language performance will restrict themselves to a consideration of the sacred texts, which have been reproduced here without alteration.

## NON-SACRED TEXTS

### ELEMENTARY TEXTS

#### TEXT 1

Thurla Ylrriri  
*eye sore*  
*The Sore Eye*  
Arrarlilu  
*Harold Ned-INST*  
*by Harold Ned*

Thurla watyi.<sup>1</sup> Karnrtatypirti. Pawa yinti.  
*eye bad teary water run down-PRES*  
*The eye is bad. It is teary. Water is running down.*

#### TEXT 2

Tyawiwannarra<sup>2</sup>  
*song-long*  
*Longsong*  
Yinpirrpalu<sup>3</sup>  
*Long Mack-INST*  
*by Long Mack*

Kantipingarli mangkurlarra.<sup>4</sup> Kantipingarli pawangkawa.  
*tiny-PL child-PL tiny-PL water-LOC-EMP*  
*Tiny children. Tiny ones in the water.*

<sup>1</sup>Linking verbs are not often employed in simple sentences in Yindjibarndi. See section 4.2.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>Tyawiwannarra is the actual name of this song. I did not invent it as I did the titles for most of the remaining stories in this book. The name stems from the fact that the first line is repeated a number of times and then the last line is repeated a number of times.

<sup>3</sup>Ejong or Yityangu, a deceased relative of Long Mack's, was the composer.

<sup>4</sup>The song is recorded here as it was dictated by Long Mack. However, when he sung it, the last word in each line received a terminal -yi, which I am not sure how to interpret.

## TEXT 3

Kartantyi  
dwarf bearded dragon  
*The Dwarf Bearded Dragon*

Pityintu  
Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
by Ken M. Jerrold

Warnrtaa katyarti kurraurra. <sup>1</sup>	Ngunhaatumpa wangkanguli
tree-LOC lizard rough	that-ONE-TOP be called-PRES
A rough-looking lizard lives in trees.	The one that I'm talking

kartantyi.<sup>2</sup>  
dwarf bearded dragon  
about is called the dwarf bearded dragon.

## TEXT 4

Yiimit<sup>3</sup>  
itchy  
*Itchy*

Pityintu  
Ken M. Jerrold-PRES  
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi yiimittyarri murru. <sup>4</sup>	Nyinta wantaa ngayu murruu yirrwayi?
I itch-PRES back	you can me back-OBJ scratch-POT
My back itches.	Can you scratch it?

## TEXT 5

Mintyurlu<sup>5</sup>  
kangarooberry  
*Kangarooberries*

Pityintu  
Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
by Ken M. Jerrold

<sup>1</sup>The narrator is referring to the soft spines which cover its body.

<sup>2</sup>In Roebourne this lizard is commonly called 'mountain devil'. But Gilbert Bobby tells me that the kartantyi does not have horns like the mountain devil nor does *Moloch horridus* occur in the Roebourne area. And we do know for sure that mountain devils don't live in trees.

<sup>3</sup>The spelling of this word - like that of kiitaa (NC) *guitar* and Wiimat (NC) *Chiratta Station* - is somewhat problematic. Although it is difficult to hear length on the first vowel, this vowel must be long as it is definitely high and tense rather than low and lax as a short vowel would be before m. See 2.1.3.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>4</sup>Here and again in the next sentence murru is being inalienably possessed by the first person singular pronoun. See 4.1.1.2 in the Grammar for a discussion on inalienable possession.

<sup>5</sup>There are two different kinds of mintyurlu, a bitter one eaten by kangaroos and a sweet one eaten by men. The narrator is obviously talking about the former.

Mintyurlu      parni                      parungka.                      Pattyarri ngarrku  
*kangarooberry be found-PRES spinifex-LOC euro eat-PRES*  
*Kangarooberries are found in the spinifex. Euroes eat*

ngurnaaku pulayi                      mintyurlu.<sup>1</sup>  
*that-OBJ sphere-OBJ kangarooberry*  
*those round things on the kangarooberry plant.*

## TEXT 6

Muyarnaarnu  
*steal-PASS PRF*  
*Something Has Been Stolen*

Wutlilu  
*Woodley King-INST*  
*by Woodley King*

Ngayi wanhtharna nhurnu      ngaarnrtula ngurrangka.      Maningaa<sup>2</sup> ngaarta  
*I leave-PAST this(OBJ) my-LOC place-LOC other-PL man*  
*I left this thing at my place. Some other men*

kanangkarrinha muyarnumarnu.  
*come-PAST steal-PROG*  
*came along and stole it.*

## TEXT 7

Wirra                      Mutyimutyi  
*boomerang holey*  
*The Holey Boomerang*

Arrarlilu  
*Harold Ned-INST*  
*by Harold Ned*

Wirra                      mutyimutyi.                      Mutyimarna                      pirna warnrtayi  
*boomerang full of holes hole-FACT-PAST bug wood-OBJ*  
*The boomerang is full of holes. A bug made holes in the boomerang*

wirrayi.                      Ngayi wanhthaku purrkayl                      mutyingka.  
*boomerang-OBJ I put-PRES spinifex resin-OBJ hole-LOC*  
*wood. I am putting spinifex gum in the holes.*

## TEXT 8

Ngaarnrtu Tyangkurruuyha  
*my hat-DU*  
*My Two Hats*  
 Yinpirrpalu  
*Long Mack-INST*  
*by Long Mack*

<sup>1</sup>These last three words could also be translated: ...the fruit of the kangarooberry plant.

<sup>2</sup>Note the irregular plural. See 3.1.1.2.1 in the Grammar.

Ngayi parninha warruwarlaa tyangkurruwarlaa.<sup>1</sup>    Ngayi tyangkurruu  
*I be-PAST black-POSS hat-POSS*    *I hat-OBJ*  
*I had a black hat.*    *I lost*

ngawlrtaama.    Ngayi<sup>2</sup> mankunha tyangkurru<sup>3</sup> yiyangu.  
*lose-PAST*    *I get-PAST hat*    *new*  
*the hat.*    *I got a new one.*

## TEXT 9

Purrkurnrtaarnu Payipau  
*smoke-IMPRF*    *pipe-OBJ*  
*Smoking a Pipe*

Yinpirrpalu  
*Long Mack-INST*  
*by Long Mack*

Yungkuma ngayu thama!<sup>4</sup>    Kampakayi ngamayiu    payipalau,    ngayi  
*give-IMP to me fire*    *light-POT tobacco-OBJ pipe-LOC-OBJ I*  
*Give me a light!*    *Light the tobacco in my pipe as I want*

purpi<sup>5</sup> muukarrilla.<sup>6</sup>  
*want smoke-POT-LOC*  
*to smoke it.*

## TEXT 10

Yirraamarnu  
*sing-IMPRF*  
*Singing*

Arrarlilu  
*Harold Ned-INST*  
*by Harold Ned*

Ngayi pangkarri mankuwayi tyurnayi.<sup>7</sup>    Parni    yirraamarnu.  
*I go-PRES get-POT club-OBJ*    *sit-PRES sing-IMPRF*  
*I am going to get a club.*    *I am sitting singing.*

<sup>1</sup>Long Mack says that this sentence means exactly the same thing as Ngayi kanytyarna warruu tyangkarruu.

<sup>2</sup>Such repetition of subjects is not stylistically typical of Yindjibarndi. See section 4.2.9 in the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>Repetition of objects is not common either. See preceding footnote.

<sup>4</sup>Note the usual format for sentences containing a verb inflected for imperative mood. The indirect object is in the objective case, and the direct object is in the nominative case. See also 4.2.2.3 in the Grammar.

<sup>5</sup>This is a noun, which functions as a verb. See section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar under objective case.

<sup>6</sup>Note how the locative case marker is employed to conjoin two sentences with different subjects. See 4.2.4.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>7</sup>There exists a certain style of singing in which men keep time by beating the ground with fighting clubs.

Mani maru        ngunhthi        ngayu wanyaarri.  
*other many        way over there me        listen to-PRES*  
*A lot of other people way over there are listening to me.*

## TEXT 11

Tyirriwi  
*echidna*  
*The Native Porcupine*  
 Pitylntu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Tyirriwi pangkarri yuntuwa, kartaarnu ngurrayl muthawari,  
*echidna go-PRES rain-LOC poke-IMPRF ground-OBJ nose-COM*  
*The native porcupine goes around in the rain, rooting in the ground*

ngarrkungu manhthungarli ngurrangkau.<sup>1</sup>  
*eat-IMPRF termite-PL ground-LOC-OBJ*  
*with its nose and eating termites.*

## TEXT 12

Payawurtu Wanytya  
*savage-SORT dog*  
*A Savage Sort of Dog*  
 Arrarlilu  
*Harold Ned-INST*  
*by Harold Ned*

Payaarri        wanytya.<sup>2</sup>        Thulaku.        Ngayi mankuwayi warnrtayi.  
*get wild-PRES dog        bark-PRES        I        get-POT        stick-OBJ*  
*The dog is getting wild.        He is barking.        I will get a stick.*

Wanpikayi.        Tharlaakayi wanytyayi thumpuu.  
*beat-POT        kick-POT        dog-OBJ        arse-OBJ*  
*I will beat him.        I will kick the dog in the arse.*

## TEXT 13

Wangka Nyurnrtii<sup>3</sup>  
*word        dead-OBJ*  
*Words to a Dead Person*  
 Yurtarrinytyu  
*Gilbert Bobby-INST*  
*by Gilbert Bobby*

Nylnkaarntu nhaampa ngurra muyhumuyhu.        Mirta nyinta  
*yours        this-TOP ground cold        not        you*  
*Yours is this cold ground.        Don't you bother*

<sup>1</sup>Note how conjoining is effected here. See section 4.2.4.2.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>Word order at sentence level is not as rigidly organised in Yindjibarndi as it is in English. See 4.2.8 in the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>Words such as the following are recited by a senior Aboriginal after the Christian graveside ceremonies are finished.

nganiwarnii ngayinhtharriu! Parnii nyinta ngurrangka  
*do anything-POT we-OBJ stay-POT you ground-LOC*  
*us! You stay in this cold*

muyhumuyhula.<sup>1</sup>  
*cold-LOC*  
*ground.*

## TEXT 14

Kurlumarnu Pawayi  
*heat-IMPRF water-OBJ*  
*Heating Water*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Ngayi mankuwayi wuntuwau ngarriyangu pawayi<sup>2</sup> "billycan"ta.  
*I get-POT river-LOC-OBJ be-DEP water-OBJ -LOC*  
*I will get water from the river in a billycan.*

Wanhthakayi "billycan"ku<sup>3</sup> thamangka. Kurlu pawayi!<sup>4</sup>  
*put-POT -OBJ fire-LOC hot water-VOC*  
*I will put the billycan on the fire. Hot water!*

## TEXT 15

Kurkawaty<sup>5</sup>  
*stupid*  
*The Stupid One*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Nyinta mirtawarlu wanyaarri<sup>6</sup> ngayu, wangkayangu nyinku.<sup>7</sup>  
*you never understand-PRES me talk-DEP to you*  
*You never understand me, when I am talking to you.*

<sup>1</sup>According to the Yindjibarndi, dead people come out of their graves after dark and walk around.

<sup>2</sup>This segment actually reads '*...water (which is) lying in the river...*' rather than '*...water from the river...*'. See section 4.2.4.2.3 in the *Grammar* for a discussion on this type of clause/phrase.

<sup>3</sup>Note that the English word 'billycan' is handled just like a Yindjibarndi word. Contrast the treatment of 'dish' in Text 41.

<sup>4</sup>The final utterance was delivered as an exclamation, hence the vocative suffix.

<sup>5</sup>The primary meaning of this term is *deaf*, literally *ear-bad*. Consult Dixon 1972:30 and then see the next footnote.

<sup>6</sup>This verb ordinarily means *hear* or *listen to*. See also the preceding footnote.

<sup>7</sup>"When" clauses - excluding embedded sentences - do not include the word for *when*. See 4.2.4.3 in the *Grammar*.



Nyinta puyha mankarr munti.<sup>1</sup> Puyha paarnpaarn!<sup>2</sup>  
*you head hard really head not all there*  
*You are a real blockhead. A half-wit!*

## TEXT 16

Ngarringu Mityula  
*lie-IMPRF hidden*  
*Lying Hidden*  
 Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Karnrtiwi ngarri. Kurkawi  
*tail-STICK lie-PRES ear-STICK*  
*Something is lying there with its tail sticking out. Something*

ngarri. Tharpa ngarri tharta  
*lie-PRES body be-PRES covered*  
*is lying there with its ears sticking out. Its body is covered up*

karrangka thurnungka.  
*thicket-LOC inside*  
*inside the thicket.*

## TEXT 17

Pattyarriu Payilamakayi  
*euro-OBJ boil-POT*  
*How to Boil a Euro*  
 Tyirtilu  
*Cheedy Ned-INST*  
*by Cheedy Ned*

Thamangka wanththakayi<sup>3</sup> pakita payilamarnii. Kurlumakayi  
*fire-LOC put-POT bucket-LOC boil-POT hot-FACT-POT*  
*Put it in a bucket on the fire in order to boil it. Heat*

pattyarri. Kuyu kampayi.<sup>4</sup>  
*euro let cook-POT*  
*the euro. Let it cook.*

## TEXT 18

Warnrtayi Wanhtharnu  
*tree-OBJ plant-IMPRF*  
*Planting a Tree*  
 Yinpirpalu  
*Long Mack-INST*  
*by Long Mack*

<sup>1</sup>Another acceptable translation for this sentence is: *You have a really hard head.*  
 See Text 4.

<sup>2</sup>Another translation for this utterance might be: *Your head (brains) is (are) not all there!*

<sup>3</sup>Note how the potential mood is used to express a weak command.

<sup>4</sup>Here is an interesting third person command.

Ngayi yurraku purnrtayi. Nganiyarnrtu nyinta yurraku purnrtayi?  
*I dig-PRES hole-OBJ what for you dig-PRES hole-OBJ*  
*I am digging a hole. What are you digging a hole for?*

Ngayi wanhtakayi warntayi maluu<sup>1</sup> wankarraangu.  
*I plant-POT tree-OBJ shade-OBJ grow-INF*  
*I will plant a tree for shade.*

## TEXT 19

Parningumarnu Karringumarnu  
*sit-PROG stand-PROG*  
*Sitting Down and Standing Up*  
 Arrarlilu Tyirti muntu  
*Harold Ned-INST Cheedy Ned and*  
*by Harold and Cheedy Ned*

Ngaliya karri. Parningumarnu. Yaala parniwa.  
*we two stand-PRES sit-PROG now sit-PRES-EMP*  
*We two are standing. We are sitting down. Now we are sitting.*

Karpa karriiwa.<sup>2</sup> Ngartimu karri.  
*get up-PRES stand-POT-EMP again stand-PRES*  
*We are rising to stand. Again we are standing.*

## TEXT 20

Mirnuwarningu Papungu<sup>3</sup>  
*learn-IMPRF Father-OBJ*  
*Learning about God*  
 Yinpirpalu  
*Long Mack-INST*  
*by Long Mack*

Ngayinhtharri tyutyungarli<sup>4</sup> mirta mirnu parninha Minkalau,<sup>5</sup>  
*we mature-PL not knowing be-PAST Jesus Christ-OBJ*  
*We old people didn't know about Jesus Christ,*

Papu ngayinhtharriyarnrtu. Mirnuwarninha.  
*Father we-MS-GEN knowing-INCHO-PAST*  
*our God. We learned.*

<sup>1</sup>The segment warntayi maluu could just as well have been translated *shade tree* were it not for the fact that the narrator indicated that he meant *tree for shade*.

<sup>2</sup>For the standard formula *karpa karrii* it is possible to substitute *karpangumarnu* as well as *karringumarnu*.

<sup>3</sup>In this story the narrator shows how to make an overt contrast between stative and inchoative action.

<sup>4</sup>Note the use of *-ngarli* here instead of the special plural number marker reserved for proper nouns. See 3.1.1.2.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>5</sup>It is obvious that the narrator is specifically referring to Jesus Christ and not the Aboriginal deity, who appears in Texts 76 and 77. Note that Minkala is not really a name as it is a common noun.

## TEXT 21

Yuralaarnrtu Manyka  
 rainmaker-GEN son  
*The Rainmaker's Son*  
 Yinpirrpalu  
 Long Mack-INST  
*by Long Mack.*

Yurala	nyurnrtiwarninha.	Yuntu parnrtakuwa. <sup>1</sup>	Muntiwayi
rainmaker die-PAST		rain fall-PRES-EMP	perhaps
The rainmaker died.		Rain is starting to fall.	Perhaps

nhaampa yuntuyu<sup>2</sup> puyamaa.<sup>3</sup>  
 this-TOP rain-DET orphan-LIKE  
*this particular shower that I'm talking about is like an orphan.*

## TEXT 22

Payankarra  
 soldier  
*The Soldiers*  
 Wutlilu  
 Woodley King-INST  
*by Woodley King*

Payarra <sup>4</sup>	kanangkarri.	Thurlawarnima!	Kartaannyaa. <sup>5</sup>
soldier come-PRES		wake up-IMP	spear-PASS OPT
Enemy soldiers are coming.		Wake up!	You might get speared.

Nhungku<sup>6</sup> paya kanangkarri ngayinhtharriu.  
 these savage come-PRES we-OBJ  
*Those savages are coming after us.*

## TEXT 23

Palin  
 mirage  
*The Mirage*  
 Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

<sup>1</sup>The emphatic clitic translates as *start to* here. See 3.2.2.4 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>Compare the form of the determiner used here by Long Mack with the one he employs in the following sentence: Mirtawa ngayi kurkanytyaku ngurnaakuyhu. *I just don't remember that particular thing.* The former may be a borrowing from Kurrama. See 3.2.2.5 in the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>That is, it is crying for its father.

<sup>4</sup>The Yindjibarndi language has no word for *friend* or *enemy*. Payarra is simply a synonym for payankarra.

<sup>5</sup>Note the use of the rare passive optative mood marker.

<sup>6</sup>Nhungku is an indeclineable form of the more commonly encountered nhungkiirri.

Warrimayila<sup>1</sup> parkarrala nhaungu<sup>2</sup> martulilau. Ngayi  
 plain-LOC plain-LOC see-IMPRF in the centre-OBJ I  
 I see something in the middle of the plain. I

kurkanytyarna pawayi. Ngunhaa wuyut.<sup>3</sup> Karrwarnrta palin  
 think-PAST water-OBJ it nothing summer-LOC mirage  
 thought it was water. But it's nothing. In the summer mirages

karpa.<sup>4</sup>  
 arise-PRES  
 arise.

## TEXT 24

Punhthangu  
 bathe-IMPRF  
 Bathing  
 Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

Wanytya parninha pawangka, punhthangu. Karpanha  
 dog sit-PAST water-LOC bathe-IMPRF get up-PAST  
 A dog was sitting in the water, taking a bath. He got out

pawangkangu manhthiwa, karringumarnu piilawa, tharpa<sup>5</sup>  
 water-LOC-ABL wet-EMP stand-PROG outside-EMP body  
 of the water very wet and stood outside, shaking himself

pinytyawinytyarringu.  
 shake oneself-IMPRF  
 all over.

## TEXT 25

Karpanma Mawarnkarra  
 bring-IMP doctor  
 Get a Doctor  
 Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

<sup>1</sup>Warrimayi is an unpreferred synonym for parkarra. See also section 4.2.5 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>Note how the verb is splitting the spatial phrase. See also the last paragraph in 4.2.8 in the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>Wuyut is a different kind of nothing from yurlu. Wuyut is something that amounts to nothing.

<sup>4</sup>Long Mack says that one can also say '...ngurra karpa palinta'.

<sup>5</sup>The introduction of this word at this point does not indicate a change of subject. Tharpa is being inalienably possessed by the understood subject of the sentence, which is wanytya.

Yakayi! Kuwayi<sup>1</sup> ngayu parpaakayi! Wangkama mawarnkarrangarli<sup>2</sup>  
 ooh come here me massage-POT tell-IMP doctor-PL  
 Ooh! Come here and massage me! Tell the doctors

kanangkarraangu murnakurru ngayu!<sup>3</sup> Parpaakayi.<sup>4</sup>  
 come-INF close-DRN ALL to me cure-POT  
 to come near me! They will cure me.

## TEXT 26

Yamarti Nguntawarningu  
 by oneself dance-IMPRF  
 Dancing by Oneself  
 Arrarlilu  
 Harold Ned-INST  
 by Harold Ned

Wurru wanhthakayi. Purtu<sup>5</sup> nyirrayi  
 screen put-POT chest cover oneself-POT  
 I will put up a dressing partition. I will cover my chest with

nyarnayi.<sup>6</sup> Nguntawarnii. Nyirnirri murtimakayi  
 white paint-OBJ dance-POT songman go fast-POT  
 white paint. I will dance. The songman will click

wirraarlaa.  
 boomerang-POSS  
 the boomerangs at a fast tempo.

## TEXT 27

Warntangarlimpawurtu  
 branch-PL-TOP-SORT  
 Different Sorts of Branches  
 Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

<sup>1</sup>Note how this interjection, complete with vocative suffix (see 3.2.1.1.1 in the Grammar), enters into a syntactic construction by taking the place of an imperative verb.

<sup>2</sup>This example demonstrates that even though the direct object of an imperative verb typically appears in the nominative case, the verb of which it is subject must still be in the infinitive aspect rather than the potential mood.

<sup>3</sup>The verb stem meaning *come* ordinarily takes a noun in the objective case rather than the allative. However, with *murna* one will get either the nominative or the directional allative case. See also 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>4</sup>Massage is one method employed by native doctors to treat illness.

<sup>5</sup>Purtu, together with unexpressed *ngayi I* which inalienably possesses it, is the subject of the sentence.

<sup>6</sup>See section 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar for an explanation of why *nyarna* is in the objective rather than the comitative case.

Kunytyirri warnrta karri thulurrungu. Kunytyirri warnrta  
*one branch be-PRES bent over another branch*  
*One branch is bent over. Another rises*

karpa kankalaurru. Kunytyirri mirkangkangu warnrtaangu  
*rise-PRES upwards. another fork-LOC-ABL tree-LOC-ABL*  
*upwards. Still another snakes downwards from*

yinti kunkurr parliwarli.  
*go down-PRES downwards snakey.*  
*the fork of the tree.*

## TEXT 28

Purku Pirnkartangu  
*quid wild tobacco*  
*A Quid of Wild Tobacco*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Ngayi mankuwayi pirnkartangu<sup>1</sup> parrayi.<sup>2</sup> Wanpikayi marnrtawari,  
*I pick-POT wild tobacco leaf-OBJ pound-POT rock-COM*  
*I will pick some wild tobacco leaves. I will pound them with*

kuthanyarnu, kamparnumarnu yiwawari,  
*mash-IMPRF prepare-PROG white ash-COM*  
*a rock, mashing them. Then I will prepare them with white ash and*

tyalinytyarnumarnu<sup>3</sup> purku.  
*suck on-PROG quid*  
*suck on the resulting quid.*

## TEXT 29

Payawirringu  
*get wild-IMPRF*  
*Getting Wild*

Arrarlilu  
*Harold Ned-INST*  
*by Harold Ned*

Ngayi thanikayi warnrtayi. Ngayi waramakayi wirrayi, maurnrtuu,  
*I chop-POT tree-OBJ I make-POT boomerang-OBJ spear-OBJ*  
*I will chop down a tree. I will make a boomerang, dueling spear*

<sup>1</sup>One of two species of wild tobacco used by the Yindjibarndi. The other is called yarrwayi. See also the Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup>This peculiar term for *leaf* tends to appear in the context of ingestion. The ordinary words are watharn *green leaf* and pirtitha *dry leaf*.

<sup>3</sup>Yindjibarndi quids are made to be sucked on. They are not chewed.

yarrayi.<sup>1</sup> Ngayi wanpikayi ngaartau. Kartaakayi warrungka<sup>2</sup>  
*shield-OBJ I fight-POT man-OBJ stab-POT night-LOC*  
*and shield. I will fight the man. I will spear the man*

ngaartau. Ngayi mayumakayi ngaarnrtu ngaartau.  
*man-OBJ I quiet-FACT-POT my man-OBJ*  
*at night. I will quiet my man down.*

## TEXT 30

Kanalili  
*dawn*  
*Dawn*  
 Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Yurra karpa ngunhthi yaayu. Tyiyartarri.<sup>3</sup>  
*sun get up-PRES way over there east-LOC get bright-PRES*  
*The sun is coming up over there in the east. It is getting to be*

Ngurra martamartarri. Tyampawa yurra yirnratiwirrii.  
*earth red-INCHO-PRES short time-EMP sun peep out-POT*  
*daybreak. The earth is turning red. Soon the sun will peep out.*

Kanawarniwa.<sup>4</sup>  
*visible-INCHO-PRES-EMP*  
*It is starting to become visible.*

## TEXT 31

Kanangkarringu Tyinartu  
*come-IMPRF through*  
*Coming Through*  
 Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Nganiwarninha<sup>5</sup> ngunhu ngaarta pangkarrinha tyinartu? Ngayi  
*why that man go-PAST past I*  
*Why did that man go right by?*

mirranha ngurnaaku. Ngunhu pangkarrinha tyinartu, marriwaangu  
*call out-PAST he-OBJ he go-PAST past wave-IMPRF*  
*called out to him. He went right past me, waving.*

ngayu parniyangu. Ngayi mirrangu parninha.  
*to me sit-DEP I call out-IMPRF sit-PAST*  
*I sat there, calling out.*

<sup>1</sup>Note the absence of a copula here. See section 4.2.4 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>This is the time for getting rid of unwanted guests.

<sup>3</sup>I have translated this sentence in the manner indicated by the narrator.

<sup>4</sup>Evidently, the subject of this sentence is yurra sun. See section 4.2.9 in the Grammar. But see also Hale 1960:139.

<sup>5</sup>Nganiwarniwa is the common form for why.

## TEXT 32

Tyarraarn  
*frog*  
*The Frog*  
 Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Tyarraarn tyirraakarrinha kupityalangu marnrtaangu watyikarta  
*frog jump-PAST small-LOC-ABL rock-LOC-ABL big*  
*The frog jumped from a small rock over a big*

marnrtayi,<sup>1</sup> mathungkau ngarriyangu.<sup>2</sup> Tyirraakarrinha  
*rock-OBJ middle-LOC-OBJ lie-IMPRF jump-PAST*  
*rock, lying in between. It jumped onto a*

kuyaala kupityala marnrtaa.<sup>3</sup>  
*other side-LOC small-LOC rock-LOC*  
*small rock on the other side.*

## TEXT 33

Wanpayi  
*bee*  
*The Bee*  
 Arrarlilu Tyirti muntu  
*Harold Ned-INST Cheedy Ned and*  
*by Harold and Cheedy Ned*

Ngayi mankunha tyurtupirriu purtipalau warnrtaangu. Wanhtharna  
*I pick-PAST flower-PL-OBJ pretty-OBJ bush-LOC-ABL put-PAST*  
*I picked the pretty flowers from the bush. I put them*

muthangka ngaarnrtula. Parnrtina. Parnrtinha<sup>4</sup> mirtawatyl.<sup>5</sup>  
*nose-LOC my-LOC smell-PAST smell-PAST good*  
*up to my nose. I smelled them. They smelled good.*

Wanpayi tyayarna. Muthayi paarna.  
*bee get out-PAST nose-OBJ sting-PAST*  
*A bee got out. It stung me on the nose.*

<sup>1</sup>The objective case is functioning here as the indirect allative. See 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>It is unusual to find *lie* in this context. Rocks typically 'stand' in Yindjibarndi. See, for example, Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 4 and Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 2.

<sup>3</sup>It is a bit difficult to interpret this sentence, because the narrator has omitted the expected dependent verb *karriyangu* *standing* and even the objective case marker on *kuyaala*. See 4.2.4.2.3 in the Grammar. If it were not for what he said in the preceding sentence, *kuyaala kupityala marnrtaa* would have to be taken to mean *on the other side of the small rock*. See 4.1.1.4.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>4</sup>Note the change in stem class.

<sup>5</sup>Consider how *mirtawatyl* in the nominative case corresponds to the predicate adjectival complement 'good' in English. See also 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.



## TEXT 34

Pirtuwirtaa  
*scout*  
*The Scout*  
 Yinpirpalu  
*Long Mack*-INST  
*by Long Mack*

Pirtiwirtaa<sup>1</sup> purlaa pangkarri purluyhakayi wanthilau  
*scout ahead go-PRES take a look-POT where-OBJ*  
*The scout is going ahead to take a look and see where the*

payankarranguu.<sup>2</sup> Pirtiwirtaa karlinytyarrii wangkaarlau.  
*soldier-OBJ scout come back-POT information-POSS*  
*enemy soldiers are. He will come back with some information.*

Wangkayi ngayharnrtu<sup>3</sup> payankarranguu wangkayi.  
*tell-POT my soldier-OBJ information-OBJ*  
*He will give it to my soldiers.*

## TEXT 35

Muntyyurnu Purrkurnku  
*inhale-IMPRF close smoke-OBJ*  
*Inhaling Smoke*  
 Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold*-INST  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Ngayi waramarna ngamayiu. Mirlimirlila ngurrinymarna,  
*I prepare-PAST tobacco-OBJ paper-LOC rolled up-FACT-PAST*  
*I prepared some tobacco. I rolled it up in paper and*

kamparnumarnu pirriiwari.<sup>4</sup> Parningumarnu purrkurnku<sup>5</sup>  
*light-PROG match-COM sit-PROG close smoke-OBJ*  
*lit it with a match. I sat down, inhaling the smoke*

muntyyurnu, thaarnu muthangkangu.  
*inhale-IMPRF send-IMPRF nose-LOC-ABL*  
*and blowing it out my nose.*

<sup>1</sup>This variant of the word for *scout* derives from the one found in the title by the optional assimilation of u to i before i in an immediately following syllable. See 2.2.6 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>Note the embedded sentence containing an understood verb. See section 4.2.7 in the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>Ngayharnrtu is a rare and unpreferred variant of ngaarnrtu. See also the Dictionary.

<sup>4</sup>Pirrii actually means *very slender (thing)*. The augmented borrowing matyirr means specifically *match*, but it does not seem to be used as much.

<sup>5</sup>The Yindjibarndi discriminate between near and distant smoke. Compare, for example, Text 58, sentence 1 and Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 4.

## TEXT 36

Nyirlarli  
*excessive noise*  
*Too Much Noise*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Mangkurlarra maru munti parni ngula wirriwarningu. Ngali  
*child-PL many really be-PRES there play-IMPRF you and I*  
*A lot of children are over there playing. You and I*

karri nhula wangkayinytyarringu. Kaantpa<sup>1</sup> wanyaarrinytyarrii.  
*stand-PRES here talk-RECIP-IMPRF can't-EMP hear-RECIP-POT*  
*are standing here, talking. We can't hear each other.*

Mangkurlarra maru munti nyirlarli.<sup>2</sup>  
*child-PL many really very noise*  
*A lot of children are really very noisy.*

## TEXT 37

Warnrtaa Mulimulila  
*tree-LOC around and around-LOC*  
*Around and Around the Tree*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Wanytya karrinha warnrtaa kartangka.<sup>3</sup> Wala wantinha.<sup>4</sup>  
*dog stand-PAST tree-LOC under look back-PAST*  
*A dog was standing under a tree. He looked back.*

Nhaunha tyarnku<sup>5</sup> karnrti. Winpanha karnrti pirringu warnrtaa  
*see-PAST self tail chase-PAST tail own tree-LOC*  
*He saw his tail. He chased it around and around*

<sup>1</sup>The proper term is *purtat*. See the fifth sentence in the following Text. However, this borrowing of English 'can't' is employed very extensively. Note that it can even take clitics.

<sup>2</sup>In this sentence *nyirlarli*, which actually means *a lot of noise made by humans*, is being inalienably possessed by *mangkurlarra children*. Compare its meaning in Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10 and paragraph 7, sentence 2.

<sup>3</sup>*Kartangka* actually means *at the bottom*. See, for example, the last sentence in the next Text. If something were literally 'under' something else, for example, like a bug under a rock, then the term *thurnungka*, which means primarily *inside*, would be employed.

<sup>4</sup>*Wala wanti-* (VØ) is a set phrase. The second member cannot occur by itself.

<sup>5</sup>If *tyarnku* - or *pirringu* as in the next sentence - didn't appear here, the 'tail' would be thought of as belonging to another dog. See also section 3.1.2.3 in the *Grammar* and consider sentence 5 in paragraph 3 of Text 75.

mulimulila.                      Purtat paarna.                      Pungkanha.  
*around and around-LOC   cannot bite-PAST   fall-PAST*  
*the tree.   He couldn't catch it.   He fell.*

Wirnawarninha.  
*tired-INCHO-PAST*  
*He had gotten tired out.*

## TEXT 38

Yawarta<sup>1</sup>  
*horse*  
*The Horse*  
 Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Kantya marnrtaa                      pangkarrinha yawarta.                      Kupityau  
*edge-LOC mountain-LOC go-PAST   horse   little-OBJ*  
*A horse was walking along the edge of a mountain.   He stepped*  
 marnrtaiyi                      panyina                      yawarta.                      Pirrwintinha.  
*stone-OBJ   step on-PAST horse   slip off and fall-PAST*  
*on a little stone.   The horse slipped off the edge*  
 Purnrtaa                      punganha.                      Nhanka paanha.                      Nyurnrtiwa  
*hole-LOC fall-PAST   nape get broken-PAST   dead-EMP*  
*and fell.   He fell into a chasm.   He broke his neck.   He is lying*  
 ngarri                      kartangka.  
*lie-PRES bottom-LOC*  
*at the bottom very dead.*

## TEXT 39

Pangkarringu Thuumayaarta Pirnrutuwa<sup>2</sup>  
*go-IMPRF   store-DIR ALL food-LOC*  
*Going to the Store for Food*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Ngayi pangkarri yaala.                      Pangkarri mankuwayi pirnrutu thuumayalau.  
*I go-PRES now   go-PRES get-POT food-OBJ store-LOC-OBJ*  
*I am going now.   I am going to get food at the store.*  
 Ngayi karlinytyarrii ngaarnrtuwarta<sup>3</sup>                      mayaarta                      pirnrutuwarlaa.  
*I go back-POT   my-DIR ALL   house-DIR ALL food-POSS*  
*I will go back to my house with the food.*

<sup>1</sup>The reader will immediately notice how very un-English word order and sentence style are in this story. See also 4.2.8 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>It is interesting to observe how the narrator has carefully avoided omitting any requisite case markers whatsoever from either nouns or pronouns in the course of telling this story. The reader may wish to compare his performance in other Texts.

<sup>3</sup>Note how the genitive case of ngayi *I* is declined here and twice in the next sentence like a common noun. See also 3.1.1.2.2.1 in the Grammar.

Ngayi parnii ngaarnrtula mayangka, kamparnu ngaarnrtuu pirnrtuu.  
 I stop-POT my-LOC house-LOC cook-IMPRF my-OBJ food-OBJ  
 I will stop at my house and cook my food.

## TEXT 40

Mutyira  
 dingo  
 The Dingo

Arrarlilu Tyirti muntu  
 Harold Ned-INST Cheedy Ned and  
 by Harold and Cheedy Ned

Mutyira piningkarrinha wuntuwarta. Tyirraakarrinha parlungkangu  
 dingo run-PAST river-DIR ALL jump-PAST bank-LOC-ABL  
 The dingo ran to the river. He jumped off the bank into

pawangka. Kurrawayina kuyaarta. Karpanha  
 water-LOC swim-PAST other side-DIR ALL get up-PAST  
 the water. He swam to the other side. He climbed up

pawangkangu piyungkawa, piningkarringumarnu kartawinykarra  
 water-LOC-ABL dry-LOC-EMP run-PROG across  
 out of the water onto dry ground and ran right across the

parkarralawa. Thartarrinha.<sup>1</sup>  
 plain-LOC-EMP vanish-PAST  
 plain. He vanished.

## TEXT 41

Martumirriu Kampakayi<sup>2</sup>  
 damper-OBJ prepare-POT  
 How to Prepare Damper

Tyirtilu  
 Cheedy Ned-INST  
 by Cheedy Ned

Pawayi tyiantikayi "dish"a. Wanthakayi yurnrtaau. Kulumakayi  
 water-OBJ pour-POT -LOC put-POT flour-OBJ mix-POT  
 Pour water into a dish. Add flour. Mix the

yurnrtaau pawangka.<sup>3</sup> Thurnrtakayi. Pirnrtuu wanthakayi "dish"a.  
 flour-OBJ water-LOC roll-POT food-OBJ put-POT -LOC  
 flour with the water. Roll it out. Put the dough in the dish.

Wanthakayi kampayharntula. Purrikayi martimirri<sup>4</sup> pirnrtuu.  
 put-POT stove-LOC take out-POT damper food-OBJ  
 Put it in the oven. Take out the damper bread.

<sup>1</sup>See Text 46, sentence 4.

<sup>2</sup>Note how this entire recipe is delivered in the potential mood, which serves as a weak positive imperative in this context. Compare Text 17 and see 4.2.2.3 in the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>One function of the locative case is to translate the English preposition 'with'. See 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>4</sup>Martimirri is a predictable variant of martumirri. See 2.2.6 in the Grammar.

Wirnrtakayi. Ngarrkuwayi. Punhthakayi "dish"u.<sup>1</sup>  
*cut-POT eat-POT wash-POT -OBJ*  
*Cut it up. Eat it up. Wash the dish.*

## TEXT 42

Warrkam Mankarr  
*work hard*  
*Hard Work*

Tyirtilu  
*Cheedy Ned-INST*  
*by Cheedy Ned*

Ngayi nhaunha nyinku wirruulamu yurrangka.<sup>2</sup> Nyinta  
*I see-PAST you(OBJ) different-LOC-ANA day-LOC you*  
*I saw you the other day. You were*

pangkarrinha ngunhungu.<sup>3</sup> Ngayi ngula<sup>4</sup> karrinha. Nhaunha nyinku.  
*go-PAST to there I there stand-PAST see-PAST you(OBJ)*  
*going over there. I was standing there. I saw you.*

Nyinta ngayu mirtawarlu nhaunha. Nyinta kanangkarrinha ngayu.  
*you me not-INTNS see-PAST you come-PAST to me*  
*You didn't see me at all. You came toward me.*

Parnrtayarna<sup>5</sup> ngunhthi parniyangu. Yurrarna warrapa.  
*find-PAST way over there be-DEP dig-PAST weed*  
*You found me way over there. I was digging up weeds.*

Tyilayi<sup>6</sup> purrina. Ngayina.  
*unexposed root-OBJ pull out-PAST throw out-PAST*  
*I was pulling them out by the roots. I was throwing them out.*

<sup>1</sup>It is often difficult to predict what form an inflectional ending will assume when it is attached to an unassimilated English noun. For example, the objective and locative cases of "pub" are "pub"u and "pub"la, respectively.

<sup>2</sup>See 4.1.1.4.2 in the Grammar for a discussion on temporal phrases.

<sup>3</sup>This term is interesting in that it appears to consist of ngunhu *that* plus the objective case marker for proper nouns. See also next footnote. Ngunhunguwarta - with the direct allative case marker attached - is also possible.

<sup>4</sup>*There* is simply the locative case of the pronoun meaning *that*.

<sup>5</sup>This is evidently a borrowing from Kurrama. See 1.1.3 in the Grammar. It is much preferred over parnrtayi- (VN), which appears to be the proper Yindjibarndi form.

<sup>6</sup>Exposed roots are called mayharka.

## INTERMEDIATE TEXTS

## TEXT 43

Watyi Ngurra

*bad place*

*A Bad Place*

Pityintu

*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*

*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Ngayi wirrartparriri pangkarrii ngunhthaana<sup>1</sup> nyintala<sup>2</sup> kuma.  
*I get sick of-PRES go-POT that place with you together*  
*I am getting sick of going to that place with you.*

Tyatya munti ngunhthaana ngurra. Wanhthinhau<sup>3</sup> ngurrayi<sup>4</sup> nyinta  
*no good really that place place which one-OBJ place-OBJ you*  
*That place is really no good. Which other place do you want*

purpi<sup>5</sup> pangkarrii?  
*want go-POT*  
*to go to?*

## TEXT 44

Ngayu Kayaanha

*to me older brother-PN*

*My Older Brother*

Yurtarrinytyu

*Gilbert Bobby-INST*

*by Gilbert Bobby*

Ngani nyinku nhaa ngaarta? Nhaa ngaarta ngaarnrtu kaya.<sup>6</sup>  
*what to you this man this man my older brother*  
*What is this man to you? This man is my older brother.*

Wanhtharni ngarra<sup>7</sup> nyinkaarnrtu kaya? Ngaliya nhaa  
*how your older brother we two this*  
*How is he your older brother? We two, this*

<sup>1</sup>This pronoun does not decline.

<sup>2</sup>The locative case typically indicates accompaniment in Yindjibarndi. See 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Dictionary.

<sup>3</sup>In Yindjibarndi anything that can be translated as *one* can also be translated as *other*. Compare kunytyirri (see the Dictionary).

<sup>4</sup>Note the appearance of objective case markers in this phrase instead of allative ones.

<sup>5</sup>Purpi is indeed a noun.

<sup>6</sup>Kaya is a common noun, while kayaa is a proper noun. That is the only difference between them.

<sup>7</sup>This phrase literally means *which way view*.

ngaarnrtu kaya<sup>1</sup> kunytyirriarlaa papuwarlaa. Pirntiwiirnti  
*of mine older brother one-POSS father-POSS separate*  
*brother of mine and myself, have the same father, but different*

nganka ngaliyau.<sup>2</sup>  
*mother we two-OBJ*  
*mothers.*

## TEXT 45

Muniwarrimarta  
*money-PRIV*  
*Broke*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Ngayi kurkanytyarna marnrtaarlaa.<sup>3</sup> Ngayi mara tharrwarna  
*I think-PAST money-POSS I hand stick in-PAST*  
*I thought I had some money. I stuck my hand in my pants*

wathawarala. Panhthurna wangkurila. Yurluwarlu! Ngayi  
*pants-LOC feel-PAST corner-LOC nothing-INTNS I*  
*pocket. I felt in the corner. Nothing at all! I did*

ngunhthi pangkarrinha thuumayaarta. Ngunhthaana ngayi mayit  
*way over there go-PAST store-DIR ALL that place I might*  
*go over there to the store. I might have spent my*

yurlumarna<sup>4</sup> marnrtayi.  
*spend-PAST money-OBJ*  
*money there.*

## TEXT 46

Waru Muyhumuyhu  
*night cold*  
*A Cold Night*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Ngayi karpanha, warrungka muyhungulaayi, mankuwayi  
*I get up-PAST night-LOC get cold-PRF get-POT*  
*Having gotten cold during the night, I got up to get*

<sup>1</sup>The phrase *nhaa ngaarnrtu kaya* is in focal apposition to *ngaliya*. See 4.1.1.3 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>The objective case can be used in place of the genitive. See 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>*Marnrta* is the common term for *money*.

<sup>4</sup>Note the neologism *mayit yurlumarna* for *yurlumatyaa(mu)*. See also section 3.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar under optative mood.

watharnku.                      Wanhtharna wungkuwau.<sup>1</sup>                      Markurramarna.<sup>2</sup>  
*leafy bough-OB*                      *put-PAST windbreak-LOC-OB*                      *good-FACT-PAST*  
*some leafy boughs. I put them on the windbreak. I made it better.*

Ngartimu thartarrinha                      kawurnku.<sup>3</sup>                      Ngarrinha kunyurr.  
*once more cover oneself-PAST skin-OB*                      *lie-PAST cosy*  
*Once more I covered myself with a skin. I lay snug and warm.*

Yurrayi yini ngarrinha.  
*sun-OB until lie-PAST*  
*I slept till sunrise.*

## TEXT 47

Thurangku  
*drunk*  
*The Drunk*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Ngunhu ngaarta martungkarlnha                      ngaarnrtu murtimaau.<sup>4</sup>  
*that man take a seat in-PAST my vehicle-OB*  
*That man took a seat in my car, after having had a few*

mityakaayi kari.                      Ngunhaana ngurnrtirriwimarna murtimaau,  
*drink-PRF alcoholic drink that one putt putt-CAUS-PAST vehicle-OB*  
*drinks. He started it and backed it up*

karllytyarrlngu<sup>5</sup> ngunhthlurru.                      Tyinytyiwina warntayl.  
*back up-IMPRF in that direction bump-PAST tree-OB*  
*in that direction. He bumped into a tree.*

Marlirrimarna                      thumpu<sup>6</sup> murtimaau.  
*flattened-FACT-PAST rear end vehicle-OB*  
*He smashed the rear end of my car in.*

<sup>1</sup>The objective case appears, because the sense of the sentence is *I left them to lie on the windbreak.*

<sup>2</sup>Yindjibarndi lacks a derivation for the comparative degree. See section 4.2.6 in the *Grammar*.

<sup>3</sup>Compare Text 26, sentence 2.

<sup>4</sup>Note the use of the objective case, where one might expect the locative.

<sup>5</sup>This verb is in the imperfective rather than the progressive aspect, because the verb in the main clause literally means *make it go putt-putt*, and to reverse a vehicle, one must obviously *keep it going putt-putt* as well.

<sup>6</sup>Note how the term *thumpu* is employed in reference to inanimate objects. See the *Dictionary*.



## TEXT 48

Maatha Payankarraarnrtu  
*chief warrior-GEN*  
*The Chief of the Warriors*  
 Yurtarrinytyu  
*Gilbert Bobby-INST*  
*by Gilbert Bobby*

Kitakita<sup>1</sup> wanpikayi<sup>2</sup> maathayhu<sup>3</sup> payankarraarnrtu. Tyulu  
*tap tap beat-POT chief-DET warrior-GEN everyone*  
*The chief of the warriors would tap for attention. Everyone*

karriiwa. Maatha pangkarrii wartirrau tyirli mankuwayi murru  
*stop-POT-EMP chief go-POT woman-OBJ arm grab-POT back*  
*would stop. The chief would go up to the woman captive, grab her*

kartaarnumarnu<sup>4</sup> kurriyartalu wangkangu, "Mirta wankamakayi<sup>5</sup>  
*stab-PROG spear-INST say-IMPRF not alive-FACT-POT*  
*by the arm and stab her in the back with his spear saying,*

ngayinhtharri parri ngayinhtharriarnrtu!". Yintyirr parnimarta  
*we devil we-MS-GEN cruel be-HAB*  
*"Let's not keep our devil alive!". People used to be cruel*

palamu ngaartangarli.  
*long ago person-PL*  
*in the olden days.*

## TEXT 49

Tyami  
*medicine*  
*Medicine*  
 Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

<sup>1</sup>The chief would tap on his shield with his spear.

<sup>2</sup>This story is narrated largely in the potential mood, because it describes an event which potentially could have occurred in the past. The irrealis mood is not employed, because such events did in fact take place from time to time.

<sup>3</sup>The Yindjibarndi say that their term for *boss* is *maatha*, while the Ngarluma use *nyampali*. However, *maatha* looks very much like a borrowing of English 'master' and it is interpreted as such by von Brandenstein (1970:441). *Maatha* also occurs on the opposite side of the continent in the Ngiyambaa language, where Donaldson (1977:78) indicates that it is an English borrowing.

<sup>4</sup>The verb stem *karta-* (VL) *stab* is employed here, even though a throwing spear is being used, because the spear is being held onto. Cf. *thuwayi-* (VN) *spear (by throwing)*.

<sup>5</sup>It is perhaps better to translate *wankama-* (VL) here as *keep alive* rather than as *bring to life*, even though a *parri* is in fact a kind of zombie, one of the living dead.

Ngayi thampi<sup>1</sup> tyiniyarri. Ngayi pangkarrii marnrtaarta  
*I rib hurt-PRES I go-POT mountain-DIR ALL*  
*My ribs hurt. I will go to the mountains to*

mankuwayi ngaarnrtu pirrlngu tyami.<sup>2</sup> Nyirrayi thampi.<sup>3</sup>  
*get-POT my own medicine cover oneself-POT rib*  
*get my own medicine. I will rub some on my ribs.*

Nyinta ngayu punhthakayi tyamiwarl. Mirnawarrawa ngayi  
*you me wash-POT medicine-COM a while-EMP I*  
*You wash me with the rest of it. In a while I will surely*

markurrarii. Ngayi markurra yaala. Thampa nyintayu<sup>4</sup>  
*well-INCHO-POT I well now what about you-DET*  
*get well. I am fine now. What about you?*

tyiniyarrrlmpa?<sup>5</sup> Ngayi mirta tyiniyarri. Ngayl markurra.  
*be sick-PRES-TOP I not be sick-PRES I well*  
*Are you sick? I'm not sick. I'm well.*

## TEXT 50

Parningu Mirrimpawari Wirnkartirtila  
*be-IMPRF native fiddle-COM music and song-LOC*  
*Singing and Playing the Native Fiddle*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Kuyharra tyutyuyha payamarringu parni<sup>6</sup> tyawi  
*two mature man-DU force-RECIP-IMPRF be-PRES song*  
*Two old fellows were urging each other to sing a song.*

yirraamakayi. Parnlnha<sup>7</sup> yirraamarnu kunytyirri tyutyu.  
*sing-POT be-PAST sing-IMPRF one mature man*  
*One old fellow started singing.*

<sup>1</sup>Here is a clear example of inalienable possession.

<sup>2</sup>The narrator means that he is going to collect a medicinal plant from which he intends to make a kind of water-based liniment. Read on.

<sup>3</sup>Thampi is in the required nominative case. The structure of this sentence resembles that found in the first sentence in this Text.

<sup>4</sup>See Text 21, sentence 3.

<sup>5</sup>This verb can also mean *get sick*. See section 3.1.4.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>6</sup>Note that the Yindjibarndi verb unlike the English one is in the present tense. See section 3.1.4.2.2 in the Grammar for an explanation.

<sup>7</sup>Parni- (vø) is employed here as an auxiliary to indicate inceptive action. It may be possible to interpret it as meaning *become* rather than *be*. In connection with this see 3.1.4.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

Wangkanha, "Nyintawurtaa yirraamakayi".<sup>1</sup> Yirraamarnu parninha  
 say-PAST you-TURN sing-POT sing-IMPRF be-PAST  
 Then he said, "It's your turn to sing". Then the other one

ngunhaana. Kuyharra malungka tyutyuyha marpangka  
 that one two shade-LOC mature man-DU paperbark-LOC  
 started singing. The two old fellows sat in the shade under

kartangka parni mirruwari<sup>2</sup> wirnkartirtila.<sup>3</sup>  
 bottom-LOC sit-PRES woomera-COM music and song-LOC  
 a paperbark tree, singing and playing music on a woomera.

## TEXT 51

Minytya Thaya  
 deflated tyre  
 The Flat Tyre

Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi pangkarrii<sup>4</sup> murtimaala, wayharringu pattyarri murlayi.  
 I go-POT motor car-LOC look for-IMPRF euro animal-OBJ  
 Suppose I go out in my motor car, looking for euros.

Warnrta<sup>5</sup> kartaakayi ngaarnrtu murtimaa, minytyamarnu thayayi.<sup>6</sup>  
 stick pierce-POT my motor car deflated-FACT-IMPRF tyre-OBJ  
 A stick pierces my tyre and deflates it.

Ngayi "patch" warrimarta. Ngayi pangkarrii marnrtaarta  
 I -PRIV I go-POT mountain-DIR ALL  
 I don't have any patches. I head for the mountains to

wayharrii purrkayi. Kampakayi purrkayi,  
 look for-POT spinifex resin-OBJ heat-POT spinifex resin-OBJ  
 look for spinifex gum. I heat the gum, melting it.

mathamarnu Wanhthakayi mutyingka purrkayi mathayi,  
 melted-FACT-IMPRF put-POT hole-LOC spinifex resin-OBJ melted-OBJ  
 I put the melted gum in the hole and plug it.

thartamarnu mutyi.  
 plugged-FACT-IMPRF hole

<sup>1</sup>The portion in quotation marks could also be translated as *You sing next*.

<sup>2</sup>The native fiddle is built into a woomera.

<sup>3</sup>Note how all of the locative constructions in this sentence are carefully kept separate from each other except for the two which constitute a phrase.

<sup>4</sup>This story is about a hypothetical event which could happen in the future. Thus it is delivered in the potential aspect.

<sup>5</sup>A puntiirri, no doubt.

<sup>6</sup>The literal meaning of this sentence is interesting. Read the interlinear.

## TEXT 52

Parningu Purangka Palamumu  
 live-IMPRF bush-LOC long long time ago  
 Living in the Bush a Long Long Time Ago

Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngaartangarli palamumu parnimarta karrangka.  
 Aborigine-PL long long time ago dwell-HAB scrub-LOC  
 A long long time ago the Aborigines used to dwell in the scrub.

Tyipi parnimarta kayirrwaraar<sup>1</sup>  
 naked be-HAB loincloth-POSS  
 They used to go around naked with only a loincloth.

Kayirrwara ngaartaarnrtu<sup>2</sup> pattyarri kawurn.<sup>3</sup> (Nyirramarta  
 loincloth Aboriginal man-GEN euro skin cover oneself-HAB  
 The Aboriginal man's loincloth was a euro skin. (They used to cover

kawurnku pattyarriu.)<sup>4</sup> Tyinangarli<sup>5</sup> palamumu pangkarrimarta  
 skin-OBJ euro-OBJ foot-PL long long ago go-HAB  
 themselves with euro skins.) A long time ago they used to go on

mani purluyhukayi ngaartangarli, kunytyirrilau ngurrangkau  
 rest visit-POT person-PL other-LOC-OBJ place-LOC-OBJ  
 foot to visit other people, who dwelled together in other

parnimarriyangu. Tyuntaarna parnimarta palamumu.  
 dwell-RECIP-DEP that way live-HAB long long time ago  
 places. That's the way they used to live a long long time ago.

## TEXT 53

Parnka  
 female Gould's sand goanna  
 The Female Bungarra

Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

Parnka muyhungka tyimpumarlaarri. Tharrwayi ngurrayi  
 female bungarra winter-LOC egg-POSS-INCHO-PRES enter-POT ground-OBJ  
 In winter the female bungarra gets egg-laden. She enters the ground

<sup>1</sup>I would have expected yini only, just to end this sentence.

<sup>2</sup>The meaning recorded here for ngaarta is the basic one. Information contained in Text 48, sentence 3 and Text 62, sentence 3 makes this clear.

<sup>3</sup>Descriptions are often given without temporal reference.

<sup>4</sup>Compare 46, sentence 4.

<sup>5</sup>The construction tyina pangkarri- (VØ) - with tyina being inalienably possessed by the understood subject of the sentence - means walk, go on foot. See the third paragraph in section 4.1.2.1 in the Grammar.

ngarrii thurnungka. Tharlayiku<sup>1</sup> tyinawari, mutyi thartamarnu.  
*lie-POT inside kick-PRES foot-COM hole plug-IMPRF*  
*and lies inside. She kicks with her feet, plugging the hole.*

Ngarri muwawa.  
*lie-PRES buried alive-EMP*  
*She lies there buried alive.*

Ngaarta ngarrkuwayi<sup>2</sup> parnkayi tyimpuwarlaa.  
*person eat-POT female bungarra-OBJ egg-POSS*  
*Suppose a person eats a female bungarra with eggs.*

Kanatyti parntikayi ngaartau, ngarrkaayi tyimpu  
*lightning bolt smell-POT person-OBJ eat-PRF egg*  
*Lightning would smell the person, who ate the bungarra*

parnkayi. Kanatyti wanpikayi, nyurnrtimarnu.  
*female bungarra-OBJ lightning bolt strike-POT kill-IMPRF*  
*eggs. Lightning would strike him dead.*

Tyutyungarli<sup>3</sup> wantaa ngarrkuwayi. Yangupala mirta.<sup>4</sup>  
*mature-PL can eat-POT young not*  
*Mature people can eat them. But not young ones.*

#### TEXT 54

Thalumakayi Yuntu Kuyupuyula  
*sacred site-FACT-POT rain Cooya Pooya-LOC*  
*How to Operate the Rain Thalu at Cooya Pooya*

Yinpirrpalu  
*Long Mack-INST*  
*by Long Mack*

Nguramakayi thalu wirraarlaa. Kunytyirrila  
*sneak on-POT sacred site boomerang-POSS one-LOC*  
*Sneak up on the sacred site with a boomerang. Throw the*

payhakayi wirrayi kankala thalungka murnangu.<sup>5</sup>  
*throw-POT boomerang-OBJ above sacred site-LOC close-ABL*  
*boomerang over the sacred site one time from close range.*

<sup>1</sup>This verb stem must be borrowed from Kurrama. See section 1.1.3 in the Grammar. The ordinary Yindjibarndi form occurs in Text 12, sentence 5.

<sup>2</sup>See Text 51, sentence 1.

<sup>3</sup>See Text 20, sentence 1.

<sup>4</sup>I do not know whether this food prohibition extends beyond the Roebourne area. Gilbert Bobby, who grew up around Panniwonica, tells me that it is not operative there.

<sup>5</sup>This entire sentence is my own. The narrator gave me all this material in English, translating it into Yindjibarndi at my insistence. But somehow I didn't get this part in Yindjibarndi, so rather than leave out this important information, I translated it into Yindjibarndi myself.

Karpakayi pawayi parnngangka. Wuthurrungkakayi  
*bring-POT water-OBJ bark-LOC blow liquid out the mouth*  
*Get some water in a bark vessel. Blow the water out of*

pawayi thalungka,<sup>1</sup> wangkangumarnu ngurnu  
*in a spray-POT water-OBJ sacred site-LOC say-PROG to that*  
*your mouth in a spray on the sacred site and then*

thaluu: "Nyinta karrii Kuyupuyula. Nyinta karpakayi  
*sacred site-OBJ you stop-POT Cooya Pooya-LOC you bring-POT*  
*say to it: "You will stop at Cooya Pooya. You will bring*

nyinkaarnrtu wayhayi murnakurru. Nyinta karrii<sup>2</sup> parnrtarnu  
*your storm-OBJ here-DRN ALL you stay-POT fall on-IMPRF*  
*your storm here. You will stay here and fall on*

Kuyupuyungu." Tiwakayi yuntuu thaluu. Warruwaru  
*Cooya Pooya-OBJ operate-POT rain-OBJ sacred site-OBJ dark*  
*Cooya Pooya." This will get the rain thalu going. Dark*

karntara kanangkarrii murnawa.  
*cloud come-POT close-EMP*  
*clouds will surely come in.*

## TEXT 55

Nyilaarti

mead

Mead

Pityintu

Ken M. Jerrold-INST

by Ken M. Jerrold

Palamumu ngaartangarli mirta mirnu parrayi, yurti.<sup>3</sup>  
*long long ago Aborigine-PL not knowing tea-OBJ sweet*  
*Long long ago the Aborigines did not know about tea or sugar.*

Ngaartaarnrtu pirnrtu pattyarri, tyarnkurna, kurrumanhthu, marliya.<sup>4</sup>  
*Aborigine-GEN food euro emu bungarra honey*  
*The Aborigines' food was euro, emu and bungarra meat and honey.*

<sup>1</sup>Long Mack later told me that he forgot to say that one has to hit the topmost stone on the sacred site with a bark-curl wand, after spitting the water.

<sup>2</sup>The narrator employs the verb stem karri- (VØ), which means primarily *stand*, evidently because wayha *storm* is homonymous with a rare term for *leg* (see the Dictionary). Also, it is clear from the preceding few sentences in the Text that he considers the sacred site, which is built of stones, to be directly connected with the storm, and stones typically 'stand' in Yindjibarndi. See, for example, the second footnote to Text 32, sentence 1.

<sup>3</sup>There is no native Yindjibarndi word for *or*. See section 4.2.5 in the Grammar.

<sup>4</sup>Note the common practice of omitting *untu* *and*, when conjoining nouns. See also 4.2.4.1 in the Grammar.

Parni                      warnrtaa thurnungka.      Ngaartangarli palamumu  
*be found-PRES tree-LOC inside                      Aborigine-PL long long ago*  
*Honey is found inside trees.                      Long long ago the Aborigines*

thaninmarta katiyuwari.                      (Marnrta wangkanguli      putpu  
*chop-HAB tomahawk-COM                      stone be called-PRES axe blade*  
*used to chop with tomahawks. (The stone part is called a tomahawk*

katiyu.)      Kuyharra parnimarta ngaartaunya warnrtaa katiyuwari,  
*tomahawk two sit-HAB man-DU tree-LOC tomahawk-COM*  
*blade.) Two men used to sit in a tree with tomahawks,*

yirrimarnu mankungu<sup>1</sup> marliyai.                      Palamumu  
*chop-IMPRF get-IMPRF honey-OBJ                      long long ago*  
*chopping away in order to get the honey out. Long long ago*

wanhthanmarta marliyai parnngangka.                      Kupityala  
*put-HAB honey-OBJ bark-LOC                      small-LOC*  
*they used to put the honey in a bark container. They used to*

thanpartanta wanhthanmarta marliyai,<sup>2</sup> tyantirnumarnu pawayi.<sup>3</sup>  
*bark basin-LOC put-HAB honey-OBJ pour-PROG water-OBJ*  
*put the honey in a small bark basin and then pour in water.*

Mulimulimanmarta kupityala thanpartanta.                      Ngunhaatumpa  
*stir-HAB little-LOC coolamon-LOC                      that-ONE-TOP*  
*They used to stir it up in a little coolamon. That was the*

ngaartaarnrtu nyilaarti.  
*Aborigine-GEN mead*  
*Aborigines' mead.*

#### TEXT 56

Wangka Mangunyarntu  
*language law-GEN*  
*Legal Talk*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Ngayinhtharri parni wangkayinytyarringu.      Tyutyungarli,<sup>4</sup>  
*we sit-PRES talk together-IMPRF      old-PL*  
*We are sitting talking.                      The old people and*

<sup>1</sup>See section 3.1.4.2.2 in the Grammar under imperfective aspect.

<sup>2</sup>The narrator is restating his previous sentence more precisely. Note where the restated material goes.

<sup>3</sup>They also used to flavour this drink with a kind of aromatic grass, called mayhankaa, according to Jerry Jerrold, Ken's father.

<sup>4</sup>See Text 53, paragraph 2, sentence 4.

tyinytyanungungarli<sup>1</sup> wangkangu karnkungarliu<sup>2</sup> manguny  
*initiation worker-PL talk about-IMPRF initiation boss-PL law*  
*the initiation workers are talking to the initiation bosses about*

wangka ngayinhtharriyarnrtu.<sup>3</sup> Karnkungarli mankuwayi  
*language we-MS-GEN initiation boss-PL get-POT*  
*our legal language. The initiation bosses will get the*

purruu.<sup>4</sup> Tharrwakayl marangka tyinytyanungungarlila.  
*hair belt put into-POT hand-LOC initiation worker-PL-LOC*  
*hair belt. They will put it into the hands of the initiation workers.*

Ngaliyauu<sup>5</sup> tyinytyanungungarli pangkarrii wuluyu Pirtannguwarta<sup>6</sup>  
*we initiation worker-PL go-POT west-LOC Onslow-OBJ-DIR ALL*  
*We initiation workers will go west to Onslow*

marangkamakayi kunytyirriu yangupalau, parniyangu.  
*get one's hands on-POT one-OBJ young fellow-OBJ live-DEP*  
*to get our hands on one young fellow, who lives there.*

Karlinymakaayi wuluyungu nhula, wuntuwa tyingkat  
*bring back-PRF west-LOC-ABL here river-LOC upstream-LOC*  
*After we bring him back, we will paint ourselves up the*

patharrii. Maru parni thaunta pirtuwangu.<sup>7</sup>  
*paint oneself-POT many stop-PRES town-LOC initiand*  
*river. Many initiands are stopping here in town.*

Mani pangkarrii pirtuwangu pirtarrala.<sup>8</sup>  
*some go-POT initiand concluding ceremonial feast-LOC*  
*Some of the initiands will go through the Yindjibarndi initiation rite.*

<sup>1</sup>Compare Text 55, sentence 2.

<sup>2</sup>Note that this word as indirect object is inflected with the objective case marker, while the following phrase, which forms the direct object, is in the nominative case.

<sup>3</sup>I think that I have translated this phrase correctly.

<sup>4</sup>It is not possible to discern whether this word is inflected or not. If it were, the requisite objective case marker -ku would first lenite to -u and then be automatically deleted by phonological rule. See sections 2.2.10 and 2.2.13 in the Grammar.

<sup>5</sup>The pronoun ngaliyauu must be used here rather than ngayinhtharri, because the initiation workers would all be of the same generation level. See 3.1.2.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>6</sup>My insert. The Aboriginal name for this town momentarily escaped the narrator.

<sup>7</sup>This noun has a dual, but no plural. This is because Yindjibarndi law prohibits the initiation of more than two youths at any one time.

<sup>8</sup>Rites involving arm-tying, circumcision and subincision all take place in the Roebourne area.



## TEXT 57

Wiyanu Wanytyawari  
*hunting dog-COM*  
*Hunting with a Dog*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Ngayi pangkarrinha karparnu kuyharrau "mate" kuyhau.  
*I go-PAST take along-IMPRF two-OBJ -DU-OBJ*  
*I went out taking two mates along.*

Ngayinhtharri yuninha wanytyawari, pattyarri wayharringu.  
*we go down-PAST dog-COM euro look for-IMPRF*  
*We went out with a dog, looking for euros.*

Wanytya parnrtayarna<sup>1</sup> kuyharrau pattyarri, parniyangu ngarrkungu<sup>2</sup>  
*dog find-PAST two-OBJ euro sit-DEP eat-IMPRF*  
*The dog found two of them, sitting eating grass.*

warrapa. Wanytya yarrarna. Murnamarna<sup>3</sup> pattyarriu  
*grass dog chase-PAST close-FACT-PAST euro-OBJ*  
*He chased them. He closed in on one and grabbed it.*

mankungumarnu. Wanytya wangkaru mankunha, nyurnrtimarnu.  
*grab-PROG dog throat-OBJ grab-PAST kill-FACT-IMPRF*  
*The dog grabbed it by the throat and killed it.*

Ngayinhtharri karparna nyurnrti, parningumarnu wuntuwa  
*we take-PAST dead sit-PROG river-LOC*  
*We took the dead one and sat down by the river to*

wirnrarnu<sup>4</sup> murlayi. Ngayinhtharri kamparna thamayi watyikartau,  
*cut-IMPRF meat-OBJ we light-PAST fire-OBJ big-OBJ*  
*cut up the meat. We lit a big fire and sat down to eat the*

paringumarnu ngarrkungu parrku murlayi. Ngayinhtharri  
*sit-PROG eat-IMPRF chunk of meat meat-OBJ we*  
*chunks of meat. Then we went*

<sup>1</sup>See Text 42, sentence 7.

<sup>2</sup>Because ngarrkungu is in apposition to parniyangu, it is inflected for imperfective aspect rather than for dependent imperfective aspect, which would ordinarily be considered redundant. See also section 3.1.4.2.2 in the Grammar under imperfective aspect.

<sup>3</sup>I believe that I have translated this word correctly, even though the meaning I recorded is not the usual one. See the Dictionary and compare Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 6.

<sup>4</sup>Compare Text 55, sentence 6.

winyawa ngarlu<sup>1</sup> pangkarringumarnu ngurraarta! Tharrwanha  
 full-EMP stomach go-PROG home-DIR ALL enter-PAST  
 home with full bellies! I went into

mayayi ngaarnrtu, ngarringumarnu wirnawa!  
 house-OBJ my lie-PROG tired-EMP  
 my house and lay down - all tired out!

<sup>1</sup>Ngarlu is not inflected for comitative case or marked with the proprietive suffix, because it is being inalienably possessed by ngayinhtharri, which is the subject of the sentence and hence in the nominative case.

## ADVANCED TEXTS

## TEXT 58

Karnrtirri  
distant smoke  
Distant Smoke

Pityintu  
Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
by Ken M. Jerrold

Karnrtirri<sup>1</sup> kampa<sup>2</sup> tyingkat. Nganalumparra  
distant smoke burn-PRES upstream-LOC who-INST-TOP-DUB  
Smoke was rising up the river. Who lit it,

kamparnaarnu<sup>3</sup> Ngayi pangkarrinha tyingkat ngunhthi  
light-PASS PRF I go-PAST upstream-LOC way over there  
I wonder? I went way upstream to inspect the

tyinayi nhawayi,<sup>4</sup> nganangu<sup>5</sup> kamparnu<sup>6</sup> karnrtirri.  
footprint-OBJ look at-POT who-OBJ burn-IMPRF distant smoke  
footprints of the one who was making the smoke.

Ngayi parnrtayarna. Mirnuwa! "Terry" nha  
I find-PAST knowing-EMP -PN  
I found them. Now I know who started the fire! Terry

kamparna.  
light-PAST  
did.

## TEXT 59

Marni Marnrtaa  
mark rock-LOC  
Rock Engravings

Pityintu  
Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
by Ken M. Jerrold

<sup>1</sup>See Text 35, sentence 3.

<sup>2</sup>In Yindjibarndi smoke is usually said to 'burn' rather than 'rise'. See also Text 50, sentence 1 in respect of the tense marking.

<sup>3</sup>The narrator specifically began his translation with *I don't know who...* See the last paragraph in 4.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>4</sup>If the narrator meant to look for, we would expect to find wayharrii.

<sup>5</sup>Note that ngana is being employed here as a relative pronoun. It only rarely occurs in such a function. See 4.2.4.4 in the Grammar. Furthermore, note that ngana(ngu) is inalienably possessing tyina(yi). It can do this, because tyina means primarily *foot*. Finally, note that ngana(ngu) as subject of the dependent clause is marked for objective case, while curiously the direct object is left in the nominative case.

<sup>6</sup>I think I translated kampa- (VL) correctly here. Cf. the first sentence in this Text. But see also Text 28, sentence 2.

Ngayi nhaunha Minkalalu wanththarnaarnu ngaartangarliyarntu.  
 I see-PAST deity-INST leave-PASS PRF Aborigine-PL-MS-GEN  
 I saw those things left by God for the Aboriginal people.

Ngayinhtharri ngaartangarli mirta wanththarna marntaa marni. Papu<sup>1</sup>  
 we Aborigine-PL not put-PAST rock-LOC mark Father  
 We Aborigines did not put the engravings on the rocks. God

wanththarna kankala parningu.<sup>2</sup> Ngunhaana marningarli wanththangulinha.  
 leave-PAST above be-IMPRF that one mark-PL put-PASS-PAST  
 above left them. Those engravings were put there.

Papunha wanththarna marni ngayinhtharriyarntu manguny.<sup>3</sup>  
 Father-PN leave-PAST mark we-MS-GEN law  
 God left the engravings as part of our law.

Wanththarna wayungkau parnaangu yirtayalau,  
 leave-PAST straight-LOC-OBJ stay-INF road-LOC-OBJ  
 He left us to stay on the straight and narrow and

pinhumarringu. Minkala kunytyimu<sup>4</sup> ngayinhtharriyarntu  
 get along together-IMPRF deity alone we-MS-GEN  
 get along together. God alone has left the engravings

yungkaayi ngurrangkau marningarliu ngarraangu.  
 give-PRF land-LOC-OBJ mark-PL-OBJ lie-INF  
 to lie on the land for our benefit.

## TEXT 60

Kupitya Wanytya Puthi muntu  
 little dog cat and  
 The Fox and the Cat

Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

Kupitya wanytya karnrti kunpurlu, kumpa yumpu<sup>5</sup> yintinha  
 little dog tail bushy face pointed come down-PAST  
 A little dog with a bushy tail and pointy nose, that is, a fox

<sup>1</sup>Apparently, the Aboriginal deity is being identified with the Christian god.  
 See Text 20.

<sup>2</sup>This sentence could also be translated: *God, who dwells above, left them.* Note that minka, which occurs in Minkala deity, is the term in the respect language which corresponds to kanka in kankala above. See the Dictionary. See also von Brandenstein 1975:85.

<sup>3</sup>I believe that I have translated this sentence correctly. Evidently, marni is being inalienably possessed by manguny. See also Text 56, sentence 2.

<sup>4</sup>But I think that most Roebourne Aborigines would give the maarra or emu-people credit for the actual physical labour involved in making the engravings.

<sup>5</sup>Compare Text 56, sentence 2 and Text 57, paragraph 2, sentence 3.

marnrtaangu kankalangu pawarta.  
 mountain-LOC-ABL from the top water-DIR ALL  
 came down from the top of a mountain, heading for water.

Parnrtayarna puthi<sup>1</sup> thurupulau. Kupitya wanytya yarrarna puthi  
 find-PAST cat trough-LOC-OBJ little dog chase-PAST cat  
 He found a cat at the trough. The fox chased the cat all through

paruurrula.<sup>2</sup> Tharrwana puthi karrangka thurnungka,  
 spinifex-PL-LOC drive into-PAST cat scrub-LOC inside  
 the spinifex. He drove the cat into some scrub, and they

paanmarringumarnu.<sup>3</sup> Puthi tyayarna, ngartimu yarrarnmarringumarnu.  
 bite-RECIP-PROG cat get away-PAST again chase-RECIP-PROG  
 started fighting. The cat got away, and again they chased each other

Puthi wirtirrinha warntayi. Parninha kankalawa,  
 cat climb-PAST tree-OBJ sit at the top-EMP  
 around. The cat climbed a tree. He sat at the top,

nhaungu kunkurr. Wanytya kupitya parninha warnrtaa kartangka,  
 look-IMPRF downwards dog little sit-PAST tree-LOC bottom-LOC  
 looking down. The fox sat at the bottom of the tree,

nhaungu kankalaurru puthi.  
 look at-IMPRF upwards cat  
 looking up at the cat.

# TEXT 61

Nyurnrtiyarnrtula  
 at top speed  
 At Top Speed

Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

Kunytyirri ngaarta pangkarrinha wuntuwa<sup>4</sup> wiyanu, karparnu  
 another man go-PAST river bed-LOC hunting take along-IMPRF  
 A man went hunting in the bed of a river, taking three dogs

<sup>1</sup>Most people would catch this word as an English borrowing, but what about the next one?

<sup>2</sup>Yindjibarndi lacks a pergressive case. The locative is employed as a substitute. See 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar. The narrator includes the (irregular) plural number marker here in order to indicate that a lot of ground was covered in the course of the chase.

<sup>3</sup>Even though only half of the subject of this verb agrees with the subject of the verb in the preceding clause, the narrator shows that it is still possible to conjoin the former to the latter using only the progressive aspect marker. See also the next sentence.

<sup>4</sup>The word wuntu really refers to a large trench through which water flows from time to time rather than to the water itself.

tyarrwirti wanytyayi. Mani<sup>1</sup> ngunhthi kankala wuntuwa  
*three dog-OBJ other way over there up river-LOC*  
*with him. This man, who was way over on the top end*

yinti kunkurr ngayuurraampa.<sup>2</sup> Ngurnuyarnrtu  
*come down-PRES downwards in my direction-TOP his*  
*of the river, was coming down almost towards me. His dogs were*

wanytyangarli yarrarnu parnka muntu puthi.<sup>3</sup> Ngayi  
*dog-PL chase-IMPRF female bungarra and cat I*  
*chasing a cat and female bungarra. I was*

karrinha wuntuwa malungka, wanyaarringu yankarru.  
*stand-PAST river bed-LOC shade-LOC listen-IMPRF noise-OBJ*  
*standing in the shade in the river bed, listening to the noise.*

Ngayi nhaunha yarranguliyangu puthi muntu<sup>4</sup> parnka.  
*I see-PAST chase-PASS-DEP cat and female bungarra*  
*I saw the bungarra and cat getting chased.*

Ngayu thurrurt<sup>5</sup> kanangkarrinha nyurnrtiyarnrtula.<sup>6</sup> Ngayi  
*to me directly come-PAST at top speed I*  
*They were coming directly towards me at a dead run. I*

tyirraakarrinha waa. Ngurrayi yurrarnumarnu,<sup>7</sup> tyirraakarrinha  
*jump-PAST frightened ground-OBJ dig-PROG jump-PAST*  
*jumped up frightened. Then I dug my heels into the ground and*

kankala warnrtaa. Parninha waarringu.<sup>8</sup>  
*in the top tree-LOC sit-PAST scared-INCHO-IMPRF*  
*jumped into the top of a tree. I sat there scared.*

<sup>1</sup>Mani refers to the same other man mentioned in the first sentence.

<sup>2</sup>Note the indirect allative.

<sup>3</sup>The bush is full of feral cats, which are much larger than their domestic ancestors.

<sup>4</sup>Note the position of muntu with respect to the two conjoined nouns here and in the penultimate preceding sentence. Then see section 4.2.4.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>5</sup>Thurrurt plus the objective case provides a construction which is equivalent to the direct allative case, which cannot be used because kanangkarri- (VØ) come governs the objective case. See section 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>6</sup>This term is apparently based on the colloquial Australian English construction 'leave for dead' as in 'This brand leaves the others for dead'.

<sup>7</sup>This verb is in the progressive aspect apparently in order to indicate that the preceding tyirraakarrinha and the following one refer to two distinct acts of jumping. Compare the structure of the sentence in which it appears with that of Text 76, paragraph 5, sentence 2.

<sup>8</sup>Since the narrator has already said two sentences earlier that he was scared, this verb clearly cannot have inchoative meaning. See section 3.1.4.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

## TEXT 62

Purnrtut  
sacred dancing circle  
The Sacred Dancing Circle

Pityintu  
Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayinhtharri Loopula<sup>1</sup> pangkarrri nhawayi marningarliu  
we Friday-LOC go-POT see-POT mark-PL-OBJ  
On Friday we are going to go see the engravings by the

Mangkurtula wuntuwa. Wanthakayi murtimaau karraangu<sup>2</sup>  
Fortescue River-LOC river-LOC leave-POT vehicle-OBJ stand-INF  
Fortescue River. We will leave the bus sitting by the

yirtiyalau kantyiau.<sup>3</sup> Ngayinhtharri yintii murtimaalangu  
road-LOC-OBJ edge-LOC-OBJ we get down-POT vehicle-LOC-ABL  
edge of the road. We will get down from the bus and

pangkarrri tyinangarli<sup>4</sup> yawukurru, mirnumarnu  
go-POT foot-PL downstream-LOC-DRN ALL show-IMPRF  
go downstream on foot, showing the white fellow from

watypalau Tampianungu.<sup>5</sup> Mirnumakayi ngarrliyanu  
white fellow-OBJ Dampier-DWELL show-POT lie-DEP  
Dampier a few things. We will show him our

pilintau purnrtutku ngayinhtharriyarnrtu.  
flat rock-LOC-OBJ sacred dancing circle-OBJ we-MS-GEN  
sacred dancing circle, which is lying in the flat rock.

Ngayinhtharri karrwarnrtawa thuwartau ngarrkaayi,<sup>6</sup> mankuwayi  
we summer-LOC-EMP fruit-OBJ eat-PRF catch-POT  
In the summertime, after Christmas, we will catch the

yangupalangarliu. Karpakayi wuntuwarta.<sup>7</sup> Nyirrakayi  
young fellow-PL-OBJ take-POT river-DIR ALL paint-POT  
young fellows. We will take them to the river. We will paint

<sup>1</sup>This is the only word in the Yindjibarndi language that begins with l and contains a long 'o' which cannot be replaced by uwa. It obviously must have originated during the post-contact period, but I do not know its source.

<sup>2</sup>A vehicle 'stands' in Yindjibarndi, evidently because it remains supported by its four wheels, which are apparently considered to be its legs. See the Dictionary under "karlaura".

<sup>3</sup>Note the sequence of three different short vowels without intervening consonants.

<sup>4</sup>See Text 52, sentence 5. Tyinarlirr is also possible here.

<sup>5</sup>Evidently, F.L. 'Enzo' Virili.

<sup>6</sup>The native fruits ripen about Christmas time.

<sup>7</sup>I salvaged this and the immediately following sentence from another Text by Ken. Both of them appear in passive voice there.

martarru. Mirnumakayi ngayinhtharriyarntu  
 red ochre-INST show-POT we-MS-GEN  
 them with red ochre. We will put them through our

pirtarrau.  
 concluding ceremonial feast-OB  
 initiation rite.

## TEXT 63

Yurrarnu Yurramau Watyikarta  
 dig-IMPRF soak-OB big  
 Digging a Well

Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayinhtharri parninha parraawa yurrarnu yurramau  
 we be-PAST long time-EMP dig-IMPRF soak-OB  
 We have been digging this well for a long

watyikartau. Yaala<sup>1</sup> pawa kanangkarrinha. Ngayiny<sup>2</sup> ngurruwa,  
 big-OB just water come-PAST spirits glad-EMP  
 time. Water has just come up. Our spirits are high,

pawamakaayirra. Pawa parla munti yarta munti.  
 water-FACT-PRF-BEC water very really plenty really  
 because we have struck water. The water is really really very plentiful.

Ngayi wanhthakayi puyhayi ngula kankala karnrti muntu. Ngunhaana  
 I put-PO head-OB there up tail and that one  
 I will put the fan and vane up there. The fan

karrii piningkarringu,<sup>3</sup> purrinu pawayi. Ngunhu karrii  
 be-PO run-IMPRF extract-IMPRF water-OB it be-PO  
 will run, bringing up the water. It will

ngarluramarnu<sup>4</sup> pawayi.  
 overflowing-FACT-IMPRF water-OB  
 overflow the tank.

Kunytyirri ngaarta<sup>5</sup> parni thurnungka, yurrarnu thungkayi.  
 one man be-PRES inside dig-IMPRF dirt-OB  
 One man is inside the well, digging out dirt.

<sup>1</sup>Compare the use of yaala in the following sentence provided by Harold Ned: Yaalawa wanhthangulinha warnta. A tree has just been planted [here]. Evidently, yaala does not always mean now.

<sup>2</sup>This is a colloquialism. The precise term is wirrart feelings.

<sup>3</sup>Note the use of karri- (VØ) stand to indicate that piningkarri- (VØ) does not denote a changing of location. Cf. Hale 1960:326.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. winyama- (VL) in the Dictionary.

<sup>5</sup>Harold Ned, Ken's brother-in-law.



Wlnrtaku nhunhthi<sup>1</sup> parlayi. Ngunhthi  
*break-PRES exactly here hard mud-OBJ way over there*  
*He is breaking out the hard mud right under me. It is really*

warruwarru munti. Kunytyirri tyutyu<sup>2</sup> parni kantya,  
*dark really one mature man sit-PRES edge-LOC*  
*dark way down there. One old fellow is crouching near the edge,*

mirrityi wayumarnu<sup>3</sup> thungkaarlaau. Karpayangu, manku  
*rope straight-FACT-IMPRF dirt-POSS-OBJ rise-DEP grab-PRES*  
*keeping the rope with the dirt straight. He grabs the*

pakitku. Ngayiku piila thungkayi. Ngunhu mangkuria<sup>4</sup>  
*bucket-OBJ tip-PRES outside dirt-OBJ that child*  
*bucket as it comes up. He dumps the dirt out. That kid is*

karri mulimulimarnu.  
*be-PRES around and around-FACT-IMPRF*  
*winding the winch.*

## TEXT 64

Alarti  
*holiday*  
*The Holiday*

Pityintu  
*Ken M. Jerrold-INST*  
*by Ken M. Jerrold*

Kuyharra ngaarta parni alarti<sup>5</sup> purangka. Ngurrayi kanytyarnu  
*two man be on holiday-PRES bush-LOC camp-OBJ have-IMPRF*  
*Two men were on holiday in the bush. They had a*

wuntuwa parumayau.<sup>6</sup> Pangkarrinha wiyanu  
*river-LOC spinifex house-OBJ go-PAST hunting*  
*spinifex house in a camp by a river. They went hunting for*

<sup>1</sup>This is obviously a bit of an overstatement. It would have been better to say *nhungu* except that the narrator evidently wants to contrast *nhunhthi* with *ngunhthi*, which appears in the next sentence.

<sup>2</sup>Cheedy Ned.

<sup>3</sup>Note how a factitive verb can be employed to mean *keep on doing something* as well as *do something*. Cf. Text 48, sentence 3.

<sup>4</sup>Terry Jerrold.

<sup>5</sup>Parni (VØ) *alarti* is the correct way to say *be on holiday*. See 4.1.2.1 in the Grammar. It is also possible to substitute the proper Yindjibarndi word for *holiday*, which is *pingkayi*, for *alarti*. In respect of the tense marking, see Text 58, sentence 1.

<sup>6</sup>The sentence is phrased in this manner, evidently because the house is considered to be an integral part of the camp. See 4.1.1.2 in the Grammar. See also further below in the Text, where the same example comes up again.

pattyarrila.<sup>1</sup> Kanangkarrinha wuntu<sup>2</sup> kupityau.<sup>3</sup> Piyaarringu,<sup>4</sup>  
 euro-LOC come-PAST gorge small-OBJ get thirsty-IMPRF  
 a euro. They came to a small gorge. Getting thirsty,

pangkarri<sup>5</sup> pawayi wayharringu. Kanangkarrinha marnrtayi  
 go-PRES water-OBJ look for-IMPRF come-PAST rock-OBJ  
 they went looking for water. They came to a cleft in

ngarpinku. Parnrtayarna thungkayi manhthl ngarriyangu.  
 cleft-OBJ find-PAST sand-OBJ wet lie-DEP  
 the rock. They found wet sand, lying there.

Wangkayinytyarrinha: "Ngali yurakayi yurrama!<sup>6</sup>  
 say-RECIP-PAST you and I dig-POT soak  
 They said to themselves: "Let's dig a soak here!"

Nhaampa pawa ngaliyau.<sup>7</sup> Ngali mityakayi nhulampa yurramala."  
 this-TOP water we two-OBJ you and I drink-POT at this-TOP soak-LOC  
 The water will be for us. We will drink at this very soak."

Mutylra parninha karrangka mirrangu.<sup>8</sup> Kuyharra ngaartaulyha  
 dingo be-PAST scrub-LOC howl-IMPRF two man-DU  
 A dingo in the scrub started to howl. The two men

waarrinha. Karlinytyarri ngurraarta parumayaarta.  
 got scared-PAST return-PRES camp-DIR ALL spinifex house-DIR ALL  
 got scared. They returned to their spinifex house in camp.

Parningumarnu<sup>9</sup> wangkayinytyarringu, "Thampawa ngali  
 sit-PROG say-RECIP-IMPRF nearly-EMP you and I  
 They sat down and said to each other, "We nearly got

ngarrkungulinha mutyiralu!"  
 eat-PASS-PAST dingo-INST  
 eaten by a wild dog!"

<sup>1</sup>The locative case marker translates as *for* here.

<sup>2</sup>The narrator must be referring to a *gorge*, because of what he says further on.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Text 61, sentence 6.

<sup>4</sup>It is not clear what the verbaliser is in this term, but I would guess that it is -karri- (VØ). See section 3.1.4.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>5</sup>This verb is in the present tense in order to indicate that the two men went looking for water *after* they arrived at the gorge. See section 3.1.4.2.2 in the Grammar. Otherwise the listener might think that this and the preceding sentence have been inverted and interpret *wuntu* as *river*.

<sup>6</sup>The fact that the direct object of the verb in this sentence is in the nominative case suggests that the sentence is best interpreted as a first person imperative rather than a declarative sentence. See 4.2.2.3 in the Grammar.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Text 44, sentence 5.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Text 50, sentence 2.

<sup>9</sup>See Text 19.

## TEXT 65

Wirnrtangulaayl Wintangarli  
break-PASS-PRF window-PL  
Broken Windows

Pltylntu  
Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayl kanangkarrinha arllpala warrkamuwarta. <sup>1</sup>	Mangkurlangarli <sup>2</sup>
I come-PAST early work-DIR ALL	child-PL
I came to work early today.	Some of the children

waarriwa <sup>3</sup>	kanangkarril murnakurru.	Nhungkiirri
afraid-INCHO-PRES-EMP come-POT	near-DRN ALL	these
were afraid to come near.		These children are

mangkurlarra watyingarli.	Wirnrtarna watypalaarnrtu
child-PL bad-PL	break-PAST white fellow-GEN
the bad ones.	They broke the government's

watyikartaarnrtu.<sup>4</sup>  
big-GEN  
property.

Maatha karlinytyarraayi, nhawayl wintangarliu wirnrtarnaarnu <sup>5</sup>
boss return-PRF see-POT window-PL-OBJ break-PASS PRF
After the headmaster has returned, he will see the windows

mangkurlarralu. <sup>6</sup>	Mangkurlarra kanangkarril
child-PL-INST	child-PL come-POT
that have been broken by the children.	Some children will come here

nhungu <sup>7</sup> kartaakayi mirlimlrlilu.	Mani mangkurlarra wirnrtakaayi,
about here write-POT paper-OBJ	other children-PL break-PRF
to write their lessons.	But the children who broke

<sup>1</sup>Use of the direct allative in this context is unusual. See Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

<sup>2</sup>Note the use of the generic plural for common nouns here. But throughout the remainder of the story, the narrator employs the special plural number marker for mangkurli, which is -rra. See also section 3.1.1.2.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>Compare the last sentence in Text 61.

<sup>4</sup>Note the interesting genitive construction. Sometimes a White official is referred to as a watylkarta puyha, literally *big head*. This is probably a loan translation of one of the many American expressions which have filtered into the region through the former base at Carnarvon.

<sup>5</sup>This verb has exactly the same meaning as the one which appears in the title of this Text.

<sup>6</sup>Another legitimate translation of this sentence can be produced by rearranging "...the windows that..." in the existing one to read "...that the windows...".

<sup>7</sup>A reference to the schoolhouse, which we were standing next to.

mirtawa kanangkarrii.                      Waarriwa,  
 not-EMP come-POT                      frightened-INCHO-PRES-EMP  
 the windows definitely won't come.    They are frightened, because

wirnrtakaayirranyu.<sup>1</sup>  
 break-PRF-BEC-TRU  
 they really did break them.

Maatha thaakayi mangkurlarrau wantaarlaangarli Karrkarraarta.  
 boss send-POT child-PL-OBJ crazy-PL                      Perth-DIR ALL  
 The headmaster will send the crazy kids to Perth.

Kanytyangulii kunytyimula ngurrangka.<sup>2</sup>                      Mirnumangulii.  
 keep-PASS-POT solitary-LOC place-LOC                      teach-PASS-POT  
 They will be kept in solitary confinement.    They will be taught.

Karlinytyarrii mirnaawa kurnrtu markurra.<sup>3</sup>  
 come back-POT later mind right  
 They will come back later with right minds.

## TEXT 66

Ngunta  
 corroboree  
 The Corroboree  
 Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngaartangarli parninha<sup>4</sup> malungka, wangkayinytyarringu nguntayi  
 person-PL sit-PAST shade-LOC talk-RECIP-IMPRF corroboree-OBJ  
 Some people were sitting in the shade, talking about preparing for a

waramakayi. Kunytyirri tyutyu nyirniirri.<sup>5</sup> Wangkanha waramakayi  
 prepare-POT one old fellow songman say-PAST make-POT  
 corroboree. One old fellow was the songman.    He said he would make

tyanytyirnk<sup>6</sup> Pangkarrinha wuntuwarta parnii yurrwinu.<sup>7</sup>  
 bark curl wand-OBJ go-PAST river-DIR ALL be-POT scrape-IMPRF  
 bark-curl wands. He went to the river to scrape twigs and

<sup>1</sup>Note the appearance of the rather rare truth clitic. See 3.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>I think that I have translated this locative phrase correctly. I don't know what else it could mean.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Text 57, paragraph 2, sentence 3.

<sup>4</sup>The narrator is presenting an idealised account of an event which must have happened many times in the past.

<sup>5</sup>The nyirniirri is typically the man who owns the corroboree. He sings the songs, plays the boomerangs and directs the dancing. Compare the sentence in which this term occurs with the third sentence in Text 52.

<sup>6</sup>The term tyanytyirn specifically refers to the bark curls, but to the best of my knowledge they are always left on the branches. Cf. watharn green leaf, leafy bough.

<sup>7</sup>Evidently, this scraping refers to the making of the bark curl wands.

waramarnu kumpayarnrtu<sup>1</sup> pangkunau. Mani tyutyungarli  
 make-IMPRF face-MS-GEN wheel shaped mask-OBJ rest old-PL  
 to make a wheel-shaped mask for the face. The rest of the old

waramaku<sup>2</sup> kumpangariimpawurtu.<sup>3</sup> Parnii wuntuwa  
 make-PRES mask-PL-TOP-SORT stop-POT river-LOC  
 people are making different sorts of masks. They will stop by

nguntamarringu tyampa, warrunyaamarnu.<sup>4</sup>  
 dance-RECIP-IMPRF little while night-ALLOC-FACT-IMPRF  
 the river for a little while and dance, leaving the rest for the night.

Warrungkawa pangkarrii manhtharrarta<sup>5</sup> nguntamarrii.  
 night-LOC-EMP go-POT flat-DIR ALL dance-RECIP-POT  
 In the nighttime they will go to the flat to dance.

Waramakayi kupityau wurru<sup>6</sup> parnii nyirrarnmarringu.<sup>7</sup>  
 construct-POT small-OBJ dressing partition be-POT paint-RECIP-IMPRF  
 They will construct a small dressing partition, where they will

Nyirrirri purrikayi kunytyirri nguntayi.  
 songman bring out-POT one corroboree-OB  
 paint themselves. The songman will select one corroboree for

Kuyharra tylrraakarrii wurrungkangu, nguntawarningu.  
 two jump-POT screen-LOC-ABL dance-IMPRF  
 presentation. Two people will jump out from behind the screen, dancing.

## TEXT 67

Tyarpurrungu  
 eaglehawk  
 The Eaglehawk  
 Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

<sup>1</sup>It would be quite possible to interpret kumpayarnrtu as a derived noun meaning *mask* (see 3.2.1.1.1 in the Grammar) were it not for the fact that the narrator uses kumpa alone to mean *mask* in the very next sentence. See also Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

<sup>2</sup>The narrator brings the action up to the present in this sentence and projects it into the future in the next.

<sup>3</sup>This is an interesting construction. With kumpa *face*, *mask* compare tyina *foot*, *footprint* (see Text 58, sentence 3).

<sup>4</sup>This is a rare example in which the allocative suffix is being used productively.

<sup>5</sup>Manhtharr is evidently a borrowing from Kurrama. The proper Yindjibarndi term is pii. See also Text 67, paragraph 2, sentence 4.

<sup>6</sup>See Text 26.

<sup>7</sup>It is also possible to translate the last two words *to paint themselves*. Parnii is a substitution for recorded parnaangu. On the lack of a word meaning *where*, see section 4.2.4.3 in the Grammar.

Tyarpurrungu parni<sup>1</sup> warrwa marnrtaa, nhaungu wanhtharni  
 eaglehawk sit-PRES distant mountain-LOC see-IMPRF which way  
 An eaglehawk was sitting on a distant mountain, looking to see

pangkarrii wianu markurra munti.<sup>2</sup> Karpanha<sup>3</sup> marnrtaangu.  
 go-POT hunting good really rise-PAST mountain-LOC-ABL  
 which way is best for him to go hunting. He flew up from the mountain.

Pangkarrinha kankaia munti maiuwarrimarta.<sup>4</sup> Parnrtaayarna  
 go-PAST high really shadow-PRIV come upon-PAST  
 He went way up high, where he has no shadow. He came upon a

kupitau marnrtiwarrau, tyirraakarriyangu parungkangu,  
 small-OBJ young buck kangaroo-OBJ hop-DEP spinifex-LOC-ABL  
 small buck kangaroo, that was hopping through the spinifex, heading

pangkarriyangu<sup>5</sup> wuntuwarta maiuwarta. Tyarpurrungu yintinha  
 go-DEP river-DIR ALL shade-DIR ALL eaglehawk come down-PAST  
 for the shade by the river. The eaglehawk came down

kankaiangu wirrii.<sup>6</sup> Murnawarninha. Yirrka<sup>7</sup> tharrwanha  
 from above in a straight path. close-INCHO-PAST nail enter-PAST  
 from above in a straight path. He closed in. His talons sunk into

pattyarriia kurkangka.<sup>8</sup> Marnrtiwarra nyimpanha murriirniwa.  
 euro-LOC ear-LOC young buck kangaroo react-PAST late-EMP  
 the euro's ears. The young buck kangaroo reacted too late.

Tyanpinaarnu.  
 snatch-PASS PRF  
 He had gotten snatched.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

<sup>2</sup>One would really expect to find the determiner -yhu on the end of this word. See the latter part of section 4.2.6 in the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>There is no explicit verb stem meaning *fly* in Yindjibarndi. See also the next sentence.

<sup>4</sup>If the reader mentally inserts ", parningu" before this word, he will be able to grasp the structure of the sentence. Cf. Text 66, paragraph 2, sentence 2.

<sup>5</sup>The narrator has been careful to mark this verb for *dependent* imperfective aspect even though it is in apposition to one which is already so marked. Otherwise, the clause in which it appears could logically be attributed to the subject of the sentence.

<sup>6</sup>The narrator's translation is *like a bullet*.

<sup>7</sup>There is an explicit term for *talon*. It is mittyu.

<sup>8</sup>The narrator means *into his head where his ears are located*. The locative construction is somewhat unusual. See section 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar. Or perhaps the Ø-stem verb is. I would expect Yirrka(yi) tharrwana pattyarriia kurkangka. See also paragraph 2, sentence 10 in the following Text.

Ngartimu<sup>1</sup> tyarrpurrungu karpangumarnu kankala, thaarnumarnu.  
 then-ANA eaglehawk rise-PROG high drop-PROG  
 Again the eaglehawk flew up high and then he dropped him.

Pattyarri yinti<sup>2</sup> yamartiwa. Ngurrayi wanpiku  
 euro come down-PRES on one's own-EMP ground-OBJ hit-PRES  
 The euro came down on his own. He hit the ground

nyurnrtiwa.<sup>3</sup> Tyarpurrungu nyurnrtimarna mantharra.  
 dead-EMP eaglehawk dead-FACT-PAST flat-LOC  
 dead. The eaglehawk killed him there in the flat.

Parningumarnu, nyurnrtimakaayi, ngarrkungu.<sup>4</sup>  
 sit-PROG kill-PRF eat-IMPRF  
 Having killed him, he sat down to eat.

## TEXT 68

Wiyanu Tyirriwi  
 hunting echidna  
 Hunting Porcupines  
 Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi parninha arlipala kurkanytyarnu nganimakayi.  
 I sit-PAST early think-IMPRF what-FACT-POT  
 Early in the morning I sat thinking about what I was going to do.

Ngayi mankunha tyumpirri. Tharrwana kurtanta. Mankunha  
 I get-PAST knife put in-PAST bag-LOC pick up-PAST  
 I got a knife. I put it in a bag. I picked up

kurtanku, wirkaalamarnu,<sup>5</sup> yuningumarnu marntayi<sup>6</sup> ngurnu,  
 bag-OBJ shoulder-LOC-FACT-IMPRF go down-PROG mountain-OBJ that(OBJ)  
 the bag and, slinging it over my shoulder, went down toward that dark

<sup>1</sup>This word means *again*. The *then* in the translation comes out of the progressive aspect marker in the second verb. See section 3.1.4.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>This verb and the following one are in the present tense evidently in order to indicate the less remote of several past actions. Compare Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 5. Note that the more remote actions are described in the progressive aspect.

<sup>3</sup>Note the unusual predicate complement with a transitive verb. See section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar under nominative case.

<sup>4</sup>This sentence is neat.

<sup>5</sup>Such morphological constructions are not uncommon in Yindjibarndi. See section 3.1.4.1.3.4 in the Grammar.

<sup>6</sup>Consider how the objective case is employed here as a sort of vague allative. Cf. Text 61, sentence 6.

warrwayi karriyangu<sup>1</sup> warrurau.<sup>2</sup> Ngayi ngunhthaana pangkarrinha  
*distant-OBJ stand-DEP dark-OBJ I that place go-PAST*  
*mountain, lying in the distance. I went there looking for*

wayharringu<sup>3</sup> murlayi tyirriwiu.  
*look for-IMPRF animal-OBJ echidna-OBJ*  
*porcupines.*

Ngayi parnrtayarna ngarriyangu marnrtaau ngarpintau kuyharrau.<sup>4</sup>  
*I find-PAST be-DEP rock-LOC-OBJ chink-LOC-OBJ two-OBJ*  
*I found two of them in a chink in the rocks.*

Ngayi purrina. Wanhtharna piila.  
*I pull out-PAST put-PAST in the open*  
*I pulled them out. I put them down in the open.*

Martuurraamarna. Wanpirna marnrtawari purtungu.<sup>5</sup>  
*on one's back-FACT-PAST hit-PAST stone-COM chest*  
*I turned them over on their backs. I hit them in the chest with a stone,*

nyurnrtimarnu. Tharrwarna kurtanta, karlinytyarringumarnu parni<sup>6</sup>  
*kill-IMPRF put in-PAST bag-LOC come back-PROG sit-POT*  
*killing them. I put them in the bag and then came back to sit*

wuntuwa ngarriwartaarnu. Ngayi ngarringu pampa.<sup>7</sup> Karpanha  
*river-LOC bake-IMPRF I lie-IMPRF sleep get up-PAST*  
*by the river and bake them. I slept. I got up*

pampangu,<sup>8</sup> purrinumarnu tyirriwiuyhau ngarriwartulangu.  
*sleep-ABL take out-PROG echidna-DU-OBJ earth oven-LOC-ABL*  
*from sleep and took the two porcupines out of the earth oven.*

<sup>1</sup>Mountains 'stand' in Yindjibarndi.

<sup>2</sup>Note how the two modifiers, *distant* and *dark*, straddle the verb in this dependent clause. *Dark mountain* is a stereotyped image. See also Hale 1960:211.

<sup>3</sup>This verb is in the imperfective aspect rather than the progressive, evidently because the narrator was looking for porcupines as he went along. Compare Text 62, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

<sup>4</sup>The circumstances indicate a mated pair.

<sup>5</sup>This has to be done, because the animal curls up in a tight ball, making it impossible to handle. The porcupine is covered with prickles as its colloquial name suggests.

<sup>6</sup>Note that this verb is in the potential mood rather than the imperfective aspect, which often replaces it when the leading verb is in the progressive aspect. Compare, for example, the final sentence in this Text.

<sup>7</sup>I guess that the verb is in the imperfective aspect in order to indicate that the action went on for a certain length of time.

<sup>8</sup>Note the absence of a locative case marker before the ablative. This apparently stems from the fact that *sleep* is a condition, not a position.



Wanhtharna pirtithala ngarraangu muyhumuyhurringu. Ngayi mara  
 put-PAST dry leaf-LOC lie-INF cool off-IMPRF I hand  
 I put them on some dry leaves to cool off. My hand

tharrwanha kurtanku.<sup>1</sup> Purrina ngaarnrtu tyumpirri,  
 enter-PAST bag-OBJ pull out-PAST my knife  
 slipped into the bag. I pulled out my knife and

wirnrarnumarnu murlayi<sup>2</sup> tyirriwlu, muyhumuyhu ngarriyangu.  
 cut-PROG meat-OBJ echidna-OBJ cool be-DEP  
 cut up the porcupine meat, which was cool.

Parningumarnu ngarrkungu manytyarnrtau pirtithalau ngarriyangu.  
 sit-PROG eat-IMPRF bed-LOC-OBJ dry leaf-LOC-OBJ lie-DEP  
 I sat down to eat what was lying on the bed of dry leaves.

## TEXT 69

Mamayarnrtu Wangka  
 Father-MS-GEN word  
 God's Word

Pityintu  
 Ken M. Jerrold-INST  
 by Ken M. Jerrold

Ngayi nyinku<sup>3</sup> yungkuwayi wangkayl Mamayarnrtu.<sup>4</sup> Pampanyaala  
 I to you give-POT word-OBJ Father-MS-GEN Sunday-LOC  
 I will give you the Word of God. On Sunday

ngayinhtharri pangkarrii yirraamakayi Mamayarnrtu nguntayi.  
 we go-POT sing-POT Father-MS-GEN corroboree-OBJ  
 we will attend the church service.

Ngunhaana kunytyimu kanytyaku ngayinhtharriu kupityala wirtanytya  
 that one single keep-PRES we-OBJ small-LOC path-LOC  
 That single thing keeps us on the narrow path to God.

Mamaarta. Ngayinhtharri karlinytyarrii kukuramayalangu  
 Father-DIR ALL we come back-POT woolshed-LOC-ABL  
 We will come back from the woolshed and

wangkayl maningaau. Wangkayl ngaartangarliu wangkayl Mamayarnrtu.  
 talk-POT rest-PL-OBJ tell-POT person-PL-OBJ word-OBJ Father-MS-GEN  
 talk to the others. We will tell the people about the Word of God.

<sup>1</sup>This sentence is as stylistically unusual as its English translation.

<sup>2</sup>Here murla must be translated as *meat* even though earlier it was used to mean *animal*.

<sup>3</sup>The narrator is addressing the transcriber.

<sup>4</sup>Mama (NC) means *God, the Father*, whereas mama, oblique singular stem mamani- (NP) is a kinship term. See the Dictionary. The use of the morpheme separator in this construction is somewhat odd. See also Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

Mama purpi nyinkupurrungu parnaangu wayungkau yirtiyalau.  
 Father want you(PL)(OBJ) stay-INF straight-LOC-OBJ road-LOC-OBJ  
 God wants you to stay on the straight and narrow.

Nyintauu mani mirta wanyaarri. Mama nyinkupurrungu wangka  
 you(PL) part not listen-PRES Father you(PL)(OBJ) speak-PRES  
 Some of you are not listening. God speaks to your heart.

pulartau. Nyintauu mirta wanyaarri Mamayarnrtu wangkayi.  
 heart-OBJ you(PL) not listen to-PRES Father-MS-GEN word-OBJ  
 You are not listening to God's Word.

Ngunhaana purpi ngayinhtharriu parnaangu markurrau. Ngayinhtharri  
 that one want we-OBJ be-INF good-OBJ we  
 He wants us to be good. We are

nyinkupurrungu wangka nyintauu wanyaaari parriyarnrtu wangkayi.<sup>1</sup>  
 you(PL)(OBJ) tell-PRES you(PL) listen to-PRES devil-MS-GEN word-OBJ  
 telling you that you are listening to the devil's word.

Parri karpaku karimayaarta mityalangu parriyarnrtu mangkarnku.<sup>2</sup>  
 devil carry-PRES pub-DIR ALL drink-INF demon-MS-GEN spirit-OBJ  
 The devil is taking you down to the pub to drink alcoholic drinks.

Watyiwarniwa. Mankunguli marnrtamarangkalu.  
 bad-INCHO-PRES-EMP catch-PASS-PRES police-INST  
 You are definitely getting bad. You are getting caught by the police.

Karpanguli martungka<sup>3</sup> murtimaala. Tharrwanguli  
 carry-PASS-PRES space-LOC vehicle-LOC put in-PASS-PRES  
 You are getting carried off in the paddy wagon. You are getting

marnrtamayala.<sup>4</sup> Parni<sup>5</sup> kumpa purrutha. Ngunhaatpa nyinku<sup>6</sup>  
 stone house-LOC be-PRES face sad that one-EMP for you  
 thrown in jail. You have sad faces. That's what you get for

mirta wanyaaariyangu ngayu wangkayangu nyinku Mamayarnrtu wangkayi.  
 not listen to-DEP me tell-DEP you(OBJ) Father-MS-GEN word-OBJ  
 not listening to me telling you about the Word of God.

<sup>1</sup>Note how the embedded sentence, which is the direct object of the main verb, is treated as an indeclineable. See section 4.2.7 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>The term mangkarn means *spirit, soul*. It is used here as a loan translation in the sense of *spirits, alcohol*. Thus, parriyarnrtu mangkarn would mean something like *demon rum* were it not for the fact that the Yindjibarndi do not drink hard liquor.

<sup>3</sup>Martu refers to the 'loading space' in the back of the Land Rover, where the so-called 'cockie cage' sits.

<sup>4</sup>The word for *jail* is generally mutyi hole.

<sup>5</sup>Parni are, not kanytyaku have, because of inalienable possession. See also section 4.1.1.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>6</sup>Note the definitely unusual use of a singular pronoun as a substitute for a plural one here and further below.

Parri parni wangkurila, thurningu nyinku. Nyinta  
*devil sit-PRES corner-LOC laugh at-IMPRF you(OBJ) you*  
*The devil is sitting in the corner, laughing at you. You are*

wanyaarri parriyarnrtu mangkarnku. Nyinta parni tyuntaarna  
*listen to-PRES devil-MS-GEN spirit-OBJ you be-PRES that way*  
*listening to the spirit of the devil. That's why you are getting*

mankungulingu marnrtamarangkalu. Ngayinhtharri wangka  
*pick up-PASS-IMPRF police-INST we tell-PRES*  
*picked up by the police. We are telling the old people,*

Mamayarnrtu mangkarnku tyutyuwathaau, yangupalangarliu,  
*Father-MS-GEN spirit-OBJ mature-PL-OBJ young fellow-PL-OBJ*  
*the young fellows, the girls and the children about the Spirit*

kurringarliu, mangkurlarrau.<sup>1</sup>  
*girl-PL-OBJ child-PL-OBJ*  
*of God.*

Papunha nhaungu parni ngaartangarliu kankalangu,  
*Father-PN watch-IMPRF be-PRES person-PL-OBJ from above*  
*God is watching the people from above, writing the names of the*

mirlimirlila kartaarnu yiningarliu<sup>2</sup> watyingarliu ngaartangarliu.<sup>3</sup>  
*book-LOC write-IMPRF name-PL-OBJ bad-PL-OBJ person-PL-OBJ*  
*bad ones in a book.*

Mirnawarra yintii ngayinhtharriu kankalangu, kamparnu  
*a while come down-POT we-OBJ from above burn-IMPRF*  
*In a while he will come down for us from above and burn up a*

manuwarrau. Papu mankuwayi markurrangarliu. Watyingarli  
*great multitude-OBJ Father take-POT good-PL-OBJ bad-PL*  
*great many people. God will take the good ones. The bad ones*

mirta wanyaarringu Papungaarnrtu wangkayi. Kampangulii  
*not listen to-IMPRF Father-OBJ-GEN word-OBJ burn-PASS-POT*  
*are not listening to God's Word. They will get burned*

thamangka.  
*fire-LOC*  
*in the fire.*

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Text 55, sentence 2.

<sup>2</sup>Yiningarli is my addition.

<sup>3</sup>The first and last sentence in this final paragraph have been taken from another Text, which was dictated by the same narrator. Also, the subject of the second sentence has been deleted.

## SACRED TEXTS

### TEXT 70

Nganiwarnaa<sup>1</sup>yi Ngaartangarli Nyurnrtiwarnimarta<sup>1</sup>  
*why person-PL die-HAB*  
*Why People Die*

Yurtarrinytyu  
*Gilbert Bobby-INST*  
*by Gilbert Bobby*

Palamumu nhaa ngarriyangula<sup>2</sup> yirriri watyiwa, thaarna  
*long long ago this be-DEP-LOC sick bad-EMP send-PAST*  
*Once long long ago when this fellow was badly sick, the people*

ngaartau wayharraangu mawarnkarrau. Muntiwarl<sup>3</sup>u pangkarrinha  
*man-OBJ look for-INF doctor-OBJ truly-INTNS go-PAST*  
*sent a man out to look for a doctor. That's exactly how it happened*

mankuwayi mawarnkarrau kutyipirupiruuwa<sup>4</sup> Ngarluma<sup>5</sup>u.  
*get-POT doctor-OBJ rainbow bird-OBJ-EMP Ngarluma-OBJ*  
*that he went and got the Ngarluma doctor who was a rainbow bird.*

Karparna kankalaurru Yinytyiparnrtiu nhawayi, ngarriyangu  
*take-PAST upwards Yindjibarndi-OBJ see-POT be-DEP*  
*He took him up to see the Yindjibarndi, who was sick, close to dead.*

<sup>1</sup>The narrator agreed that this would be a good title for the story. Another version of this story provided by Jack Ray can be found toward the end of (3) in my raw field notes (Wordick 1975). Von Brandenstein (1970:241-244) records a Ngarluma variant. See also Wright (1970:26-27) for additional relevant material.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Text 9, sentence 2.

<sup>3</sup>Notice how munti translates in this context.

<sup>4</sup>The Yindjibarndi refer to the rainbow bird as the 'bad-luck bird'. When you hear it whistling, you know someone has just died. The rainbow bird occupies the same position in Yindjibarndi culture that the raven does in English culture.

<sup>5</sup>Note that the names of 'nations' are common nouns. See also further below in this Text.

tyiniyarringu nyurnrtii murnayiwa.<sup>1</sup> Nhaa mawarnkarra  
*be sick-IMPRF dead-OBJ close-OBJ-EMP this doctor*  
*This doctor*

Kutyipirupirunha<sup>2</sup> wangkanha, "Kantapa nhurtu mayaka pukapa  
*rainbow bird-PN say-PAST let-EMP this man rotten-EMP*  
*Rainbow Bird said, "Let the man lie! He is definitely decomposed".*

ngarriku!"<sup>3</sup> Karlinytyarrinhamuwa<sup>4</sup> ngurra pirringuwarta  
*lie-PRES go back-PAST-ANA-EMP country own-DIR ALL*  
*Then he went back to his own Ngarluma*

Ngarlumaarta.<sup>5</sup> Nhungkiirri murrirniwa wantharna ngaartau  
*Ngarluma-DIR ALL these afterwards-EMP put-PAST man-OBJ*  
*country. Afterwards they put the dead man on a*

nyurnrtii pirtangka.<sup>6</sup>  
*dead-OBJ burial platform-LOC*  
*burial platform.*

# TEXT 71

Payhurru Watyikarta<sup>7</sup>  
*flood big*  
*The Great Flood*  
 Yurtarrinytyu  
*Gilbert Bobby-INST*  
*by Gilbert Bobby*

<sup>1</sup>These last two words are perhaps better translated *nearly dead*. Compare yirriri watyi *badly sick* in the first sentence in this Text. Note now the second adjectival nominal functions as an adverb.

<sup>2</sup>Evidently, the narrator has reclassified the common noun kutyipirupiru as a proper noun. However, see also the first footnote in section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar under the nominative case.

<sup>3</sup>The doctor speaks in Ngarluma. The Yindjibarndi translation is: Kuyuwu nhaa ngaarta puwawa ngarri! Note that the formal command is in the present tense evidently to indicate that the action already in progress is to continue. See section 4.2.2.3 in the Grammar. The Yindjibarndi say that the failure of the Ngarluma doctor to cure the dying/dead man with magic power is the reason why people now die permanently. Formerly, such people used to revive after a certain period.

<sup>4</sup>The anaphoric clitic provides a meaning which is redundant with respect to the meaning of the verb.

<sup>5</sup>I do not think there is any indication of inalienable possession here. Evidently, tyarnkuyarnrtu has just been omitted. Cf. Text 13, sentence 1, and also Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 11.

<sup>6</sup>The narrator added this sentence after I asked him whether they did this or not. Note that pirta literally means *nest*.

<sup>7</sup>See also von Brandenstein 1970:208-212.

Ngurranyutyungkamu pangkarrinha<sup>1</sup> Martuyhunila<sup>2</sup>  
*back when the earth was soft go-PAST Marduthunira-LOC*  
*Back when the earth was soft, a red-capped robin went out walking*

purnanyirunyiru.<sup>3</sup> Parnrtayina<sup>4</sup> marnrtayi karriyangu<sup>5</sup>  
*red-capped robin find-PAST stone-OBJ stand-DEP*  
*in Marduthunira country. He found a little stone lying there.*

kupityau. Mankunha. Puyhangkamarna<sup>6</sup> karparnumarnu  
*little-OBJ pick up-PAST head-LOC-FACT-PAST carry-PROG*  
*He picked it up. He put it on his head and carried it*

Tyatyirraartawa,<sup>7</sup> wanththarnumarnu<sup>8</sup> murrirniyu<sup>9</sup> tharnarti.  
*Robe River-DIR ALL-EMP leave-PROG behind-DET ocean*  
*right toward Robe River, leaving the ocean behind him.*

Karparnawa Tyatyirrau yini. Purnanyirunyiruyhu  
*take-PAST-EMP Robe River-OBJ as far as red-capped robin-DET*  
*He took it as far as Robe River. That particular red-capped*

karpanha marnrtaa Pantuwarnangkalawa.<sup>10</sup> Karrinha kankarniwa.  
*get up-PAST mountain-LOC Pannawonica-LOC-EMP stand-PAST on top-EMP*  
*robin got up on Pannawonica Hill. He stood right on top.*

Kunytyirriyhu ngaarta wangkanha, "Nganiwarnaaayi walaaku marnrtayi  
*a-DET man say-PAST why that-OBJ stone-OBJ*  
*A certain man said, "Why did you bring that stone here? You*

<sup>1</sup>Compare the translation of *nhaungu* in the first sentence in Text 67.

<sup>2</sup>Martuyhuni is a variant of Martuyhunira. The latter occurs further below in this Text.

<sup>3</sup>Long Mack said that he thought the bird involved was the *wirtinytyirr*.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. the form which occurs in Text 42, sentence 7 and elsewhere throughout the Non-Sacred Texts.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

<sup>6</sup>The narrator alleged that the bird has a flat head.

<sup>7</sup>River names are typically common nouns.

<sup>8</sup>I do not understand why this verb is in the progressive aspect instead of the imperfective aspect, when it is describing an action which must be going on at the same time as that described by the preceding verb.

<sup>9</sup>The determiner means *him* here. See section 3.2.2.5 in the Grammar. The reader may be interested in seeing how many different meanings he can find for this clitic in this Text.

<sup>10</sup>The locative case is not particularly common in this context. See section 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar.

murnakurru karpama tharnarti muntu?"<sup>1</sup> Ngunhaa ngaarta putput.<sup>2</sup>  
*near-DRN ALL bring-PAST ocean and that man pheasant*  
*brought the ocean with it!" That man was a native*

Ngunhaa mirranhawa, "Tharnarti wayinytyarrimawa!"<sup>3</sup>  
*coucal he call out-PAST-EMP ocean go back-IMP-EMP*  
*pheasant. He called out, "Ocean go back!"*

Mirranha, "Putput! Putput!"<sup>4</sup> Tharnarti wayinytyarrinha  
*call out-PAST ocean go back-PAST*  
*He called out, "Putput! Putput!" The ocean went right back*

Martuyhuniraartamuwa.<sup>5</sup> Pantuwarnangkawa karpama karri!<sup>6</sup>  
*Marduthunira-Dir ALL-ANA-EMP Pannawonica-EMP rise-PAST stand-POT*  
*to Marduthunira country. Pannawonica rose up to stand tall, after*

watyikartawa,<sup>7</sup> putput mirraayila.<sup>8</sup> Ngunhaapa<sup>9</sup> muthayhu!  
*big-EMP pheasant coucal call out-PRF-LOC that-EMP end-DET*  
*the native pheasant called out. That's the end!*

#### TEXT 72

Muntipa Parkuntyi Yurnrtarrinha Tyulu Yirra<sup>10</sup>  
*truly-TOP olive python get smashed-PAST all tooth*  
*How the Python Lost Its Teeth*

Yurtarrinytyu  
*Gilbert Bobby-INST*  
*by Gilbert Bobby*

Ngurranyutyungkamu Purlinytyirrmarraha pangkarrinha wiyanu.  
*in the dreamtime -PN go-PAST hunting*  
*Once during the dreamtime Purlindjirrmarra went hunting.*

<sup>1</sup>Compare the translation of the quoted material here with that which appears in Text 70, sentence 4. In respect of muntu *and*, see Text 56, sentence 2.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Text 66, paragraph 1, sentence 2.

<sup>3</sup>An uncommon synonym for karlinytyarri- (VØ).

<sup>4</sup>The bird is evidently calling out in Yindjibarndi. Compare, for example, Yindjibarndi putput *native pheasant* with Ngarluma pulpul.

<sup>5</sup>See the last footnote to the second sentence and the first footnote to the fifth sentence in Text 70.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Text 19, sentence 4.

<sup>7</sup>In Yindjibarndi mountains are generally described as being *large* rather than *tall*.

<sup>8</sup>See section 4.2.4.3 in the Grammar.

<sup>9</sup>Lenition of the emphatic clitic is prevented by the grammatical environment in which it occurs. See section 2.2.10 in the Grammar.

<sup>10</sup>Another version of this tale is recorded in von Brandenstein 1970:245-248.

Parnrtayina martii parkunytyiyhu, pangkarraayiu warrungkau.<sup>1</sup>  
*find-PAST track-OBJ olive python-DET go-PRF-OBJ night-LOC-OBJ*  
*He found the track of a certain python, that went by in the night.*

Tynamarna marnrtaartawa. Parnrtayina parkunytyiyhu,  
*footprint-FACT-PAST mountain-DIR ALL-EMP find-PAST olive python-DET*  
*He tracked him right to a mountain. He found the python,*

ngarriyangu mutyingkau marnrtaau. Parninha<sup>2</sup> kurriyartawari  
*lie-DEP cave-LOC-OBJ mountain-LOC-OBJ be-PAST spear-COM*  
*lying in a cave in the mountain. He started poking him*

kartaarnu. Parkunytyi pinkalinha thurrurtpa  
*poke-IMPRF olive python turn around-PAST straight toward-EMP*  
*with his spear. The python turned around and started chasing*

ngurnaaku<sup>3</sup> Purlinytyirmarrangu winpangumarnu. Purlinytyirmarranha  
*that-OBJ -OBJ chase-PROG -PN*  
*right after that Purlindjirrmarra. Purlindjirrmarra*

piningkarrinhawa.<sup>4</sup> Parkunytyi parninha tyartungkawa.  
*run-PAST-EMP olive python be-PAST Achilles tendon-LOC-EMP*  
*started running. The python was right at his Achilles tendon.*

Thampawa karntarrau paarna. Purlinytyirmarranha  
*nearly-EMP tendon-OBJ bite-PAST -PN*  
*He just about bit it. Purlindjirrmarra started to*

wirrawarninhawa.<sup>5</sup> Tyirraakarrinha kankala maykandawa.  
*tired-INCHO-PAST-EMP jump-PAST up my gum-LOC-EMP*  
*get tired. He jumped up right into a my gum tree.*

Parkunytyi paarna pirtiwa<sup>6</sup> ngurnaaku. Paarna  
*olive python bite-PAST fail-EMP he-OBJ bite-PAST*  
*The python tried to bite him but missed. He bit the*

marnrtaimuwa.<sup>7</sup> Tyuluwarlu yirranganli yurnrtaarrinha.  
*mountain-OBJ-ANA-EMP all-INTNS tooth-PL get smashed-PAST*  
*mountain instead. Every last one of his teeth got smashed to bits.*

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Text 58, sentence 3.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Text 50, sentence 2.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Text 61, sentence 6.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Text 21, sentence 2.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Text 30, sentence 5.

<sup>6</sup>See section 4.1.2.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>7</sup>But Long Mack insisted that the python bit the tree. Also note that the anaphoric clitic here apparently means *previously mentioned*.



Muntipa<sup>1</sup> marnrtawarninhawa. Kuyharramu  
 truly-TOP stone-INCHO-PAST-EMP two-ANA  
*That is how it came about that he got turned to stone. Those two,*

ngurnaakuyha maarrkayhu Purlinytyirmarranha<sup>2</sup> ngurniwa  
 those two emu man-DET -PN at the same time-EMP  
*the python and the emu-man Purlindjirrmarra, turned to stone*

marnrtawarninhawa. Ngunhaapa<sup>3</sup> marnrta parni.<sup>4</sup> Thangkarrpa!  
 stone-INCHO-PAST-EMP he/it-EMP stone be-PRES enough-TOP  
*simultaneously. They are stone now. That's all there*

Nhaatumpa muthayhu.<sup>5</sup>  
 this-ONE-TOP end-DET  
*is to it! This is the end.*

## TEXT 73

Wangarkaa Tyarpurrungu muntu<sup>6</sup>  
 crow wedge-tail eagle and  
*The Crow and the Eaglehawk*

Yurtarrinytyu  
 Gilbert Bobby-INST  
*by Gilbert Bobby*

Tyarpurrungu muntu<sup>7</sup> wangarkaa parninha palamumu  
 wedge-tail eagle and crow live-PAST a long long time ago  
*The crow and the eaglehawk lived a long long time ago*

ngurranyutyungkamu. Tyarpurrungu mimi  
 at the beginning of the world wedge-tail eagle mother's brother  
 at the beginning of the world. The eaglehawk was maternal uncle

<sup>1</sup>Here -pa is the topic clitic. Contrast the last sentence in Text 71. It has been reduced from -mpa by dissimilation with the preceding nasal plus stop cluster. See section 2.2.12 in the Grammar. The emphatic form of munti is muntiwa. See Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 10. On the translation of munti see Text 70, sentence 2.

<sup>2</sup>See the discussion on focal apposition in section 4.1.1.3 In the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>Note the appearance of a singular pronoun where a dual would be expected. Cf. Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 13.

<sup>4</sup>The narrator said that one can still see their stone images lying there in Gregory Gorge. Also compare this sentence and the preceding one with Text 20.

<sup>5</sup>It is not unusual for a story in Yindjibarndi to have no closing formula at all, but this one has two!

<sup>6</sup>See also von Brandenstein 1970:163-178 for other variants of this well-known tale.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Text 61, sentence 5.

parninha wangarkaa<sup>1</sup> Wanhtharna ngurrangka parnaangu<sup>2</sup> wartirrau,  
*be-PAST crow-OB* *leave-PAST camp-LOC sit-INF woman-OB*  
*to the crow. He left his woman, the crow's paternal aunt,*

wangarkaarntu nyirti.<sup>3</sup> Pangkarrinha wiyanu, tyartunmarrau  
*crow-GEN father's sister go-PAST hunting rock wallaby-OB*  
*to sit in camp. He went hunting, to look for a rock*

wayharringu.  
*look for-IMPRF*  
*wallaby.*

Wangarkaa murrirniyu<sup>4</sup> muyarna nyirti, wartirrau  
*crow after-DET kidnap-PAST father's sister-OB woman-OB*  
*After that the crow kidnapped his paternal aunt, the eaglehawk's*

tyarpurrunguyarntu.<sup>5</sup> Tyarpurrungu karlinytyarrinha  
*wedge-tail eagle-MS-GEN wedge-tail eagle come back-PAST*  
*woman. The eaglehawk came back to look for*

wayharriwa wartirrau. Parninha yartayi kurkanytyarnu.  
*look for-POT-EMP woman-OB sit-PAST a lot-OB think-IMPRF*  
*his woman. He sat and thought about a lot of things.*

Mawarnkarra ngunhaana.<sup>6</sup> Tyarpurrunguyhu  
*magician that one wedge-tail eagle-DET*  
*That fellow was a magician. While the crow was going away,*

partuwa<sup>7</sup> wankarrinha, wangarkaa warrwawa pangkarriyangu  
*feather-EMP grow-PAST crow away-EMP go-DEP-LOC*  
*taking his kidnapped aunt with him, that eaglehawk grew feathers!*

pirtunuwari nyirtiwar!<sup>8</sup> Tyarpurrungu karpanha  
*kidnapped-COM father's sister-COM wedge-tail eagle fly up-PAST*  
*The eaglehawk flew way*

<sup>1</sup>See also the first two sentences in Text 44.

<sup>2</sup>Consider the three different meanings that *parni-* (VØ) manifests in the last three sentences.

<sup>3</sup>See the discussion on simple apposition in section 4.1.1.3 in the Grammar. Another similar example occurs further below in this Text.

<sup>4</sup>Here the determiner means *that*. It is now clear that *-yhu* functions as a demonstrative pronoun in certain contexts. Cf. Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Text 69, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 2.

<sup>7</sup>*Partu feather* is the subject of the sentence. Evidently, it is being inalienably possessed by *tyarpurrungu eaglehawk*.

<sup>8</sup>In order to understand the sense of the comitative case here, see section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

kankalawa.<sup>1</sup>    Nhaunha    karnrtirriu    kampayangu<sup>2</sup>    warrwayiwa.  
*high-EMP    see-PAST distant smoke-OBJ burn-DEF    distant-OBJ-EMP*  
*up high.    He saw smoke rising in the distance.*

Kankalawa karpanha.<sup>3</sup>    Yintinha    kankarniwa wangarkaala,  
*high-EMP fly up-PAST descend-PAST on top-EMP crow-LOC*  
*He flew higher.    He came down right on top of the crow*

wanpirnumarnu, thurnrtarnu kurnarrala.<sup>4</sup>    Wangkanha  
*beat-PROG roll-IMPRF black ash-LOC    say-PAST*  
*and beat him and rolled him in the black ash.    He said to*

thathamarnrtau:<sup>5</sup>    "Nyinta parnii puwamarta."<sup>6</sup>    Tyatya ngarrkumarta.  
*greedy-OBJ    you    be-POT scavenger    garbage eat-HAB*  
*the greedy fellow: "You will be a scavenger.    You will feed on*

                 Ngaartau murrurni    wungkayi<sup>7</sup>    tyatyayi  
*man-OBJ from now on scavenge from-POT garbage-OBJ*  
*garbage. From now on you will scavenge from men and eat*

ngarrkuwayi."    Nhaarrumpa!<sup>8</sup>  
*eat-POT    this-ONE-TOP*  
*garbage."    This is it!*

## TEXT 74

Muntiwa    Thama Muyangulinha<sup>9</sup>  
*truly-EMP fire steal-PASS-PAST*  
*How Fire was Stolen*

Yurtarrinytyu  
*Gilbert Bobby-INST*  
*by Gilbert Bobby*

Tyirunanha<sup>10</sup>    parninha kawingarliu mankungu    Paularrinha    wanta  
*pelican-PN    be-PAST fish-PL-OBJ catch-IMPRF night heron-PN also*  
*Pelican and also Night Heron and Bony Bream were out fishing.*

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 2.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Text 58, sentence 1. But also von Brandenstein 1970:171.

<sup>3</sup>I guess this is what is meant. Cf. Text 46, sentence 3.

<sup>4</sup>The ash is the remains of the fire that the eaglehawk saw from a distance.

<sup>5</sup>'Greedy bugger' according to the narrator.

<sup>6</sup>This word literally means *rotten-meat eater*. See the Dictionary.

<sup>7</sup>This is the only occurrence of *wungka-* (VØ) in my notes. The narrator says that it means *walk around after someone, picking up what he has thrown away*.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. the form that occurs in the last sentence in Text 72. Then see the last sentence in Text 71.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. von Brandenstein 1970:278-284.

<sup>10</sup>Consider how the narrator has reclassified this common noun and the four succeeding names for birds and fish as proper nouns. Note further that he consistently inflects these names as proper nouns throughout the remainder of the story. Compare the treatment of bird names in Text 70 and Text 71.

Tyiurranha wanta.<sup>1</sup> Waramarna thamayi.<sup>2</sup> Tyirrityirriula  
 bony bream-PN also make-PAST fire-OBJ willy wagtail-BOTH  
*They were tending the fire. Both Willy Wagtail*

Karlamana<sup>3</sup> parninha thaurraarlaa pawangka, mankungu kawingarliu,  
 falcon be-PAST fishing net-POSS water-LOC catch-IMPRF fish-PL-OBJ  
*and Falcon were in the water with a net, catching the fish and*

ngayinu kankarniurrula.<sup>4</sup> Nhungkiirri Tyirunawathaa<sup>5</sup>  
 toss-IMPRF up on top these pelican-PL  
*tossing them up on top of the river bank. This Pelican group was*

thamangkapartu<sup>6</sup> ngayiku<sup>7</sup> kampaangu ngarrkungu ngurni  
 fire-LOC-TOP-CONTRA chuck-PRES cook-INF eat-IMPRF at the same time  
*chucking them into the fire to cook and eating them all up at the*

tyuluwarlu. Wanhtharna kuyhingarliu yini. Tyirrityirriula  
 all-INTNS leave-PAST bone-PL-OBJ just willy wagtail-BOTH  
*same time. They left just the bones. Willy Wagtail and*

Karlamana karpanha pawangkangu wangkayi, "Wanhthilawa kawingarli?"  
 falcon get up-PAST water-LOC-ABL say-POT where-EMP fish-PL  
*Falcon both got up out of the water and said, "Where are the fish?"*

Tyirunanha wangkanha yurluwa.<sup>8</sup> "Ngaliyauu ngarrkunhawa!"  
 pelican-PN say-PAST nothing-EMP we eat-PAST-EMP  
*Pelican said nothing at first. Then he said, "We ate them up!"*

<sup>1</sup>The narrator employs the sequential copula to show that Night Heron and Bony Bream are less important figures than Pelican. Cf. Text 76, paragraph 6, sentence 8 and also section 4.2.4.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>This sentence could mean *They were making a fire* except that the context suggests that it really means something more like *They were keeping the fire going*. Such an interpretation is consonant with the general functioning of factitive verbs in Yindjibarndi. Cf. Text 63, paragraph 3, sentence 4.

<sup>3</sup>The subject of this sentence appears to consist of two conjoined nouns with -kula (S) acting as a copula. See section 4.2.4.1 in the Grammar. However, since Tyirrityirriula by itself would mean *both Willy Wagtails* it might make more sense to treat this construction as an example of focal apposition. See section 4.1.1.3 in the Grammar. See also the subject of the next sentence.

<sup>4</sup>This word contains a somewhat unusual assortment of case endings. See the Dictionary.

<sup>5</sup>In everyday speech maap - from English 'mob' - is used to mean *group*. However, here the narrator chooses to express this meaning in one of the traditional ways. He could have also employed the term kutya, which means *few, small number of*. Cf. Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 2.

<sup>6</sup>The contrast clitic is used here to contrast the action described in this sentence with that of the preceding.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Text 67, paragraph 2, sentence 2.

<sup>8</sup>Contrast wangkanha yurluwa *said nothing* with mirtawa wangkanha *didn't say anything*.

Karlamanayhu pangkarrinha pattyarrila.<sup>1</sup> Karllnytyarrinha  
 falcon-DET go-PAST euro-LOC come back-PAST  
*Falcon went out for a euro. He came back to*

wayharriiwa Tyirrityirringu, Tyirrityirrinhayhu palamu  
 look for-POT-EMP willy wagtail-OBJ willy wagtail-PN-DET already  
*look for Willy Wagtail, after that Willy Wagtail had already*

pangkarraayilawa yawutpa thamiwari tharnartiartawa.<sup>2</sup>  
 go-PRF-LOC-EMP downstream-LOC-EMP fire-COM ocean-DIR ALL-EMP  
*gone downstream toward the ocean with the fire.*

Nhungkiirri Tyirunawathaa tyatyangarli.<sup>3</sup> Nhungkaatu  
 these pelican-PL worthless-PL these ones  
*This Pelican group was a worthless bunch. They had*

mawarnparrimarta. Karlamananha yini mawarnkarrayhu.<sup>4</sup> Nhungkaatyirri  
 magic power-PRIV Falcon-PN only magician-DET they  
*no magic power Only Falcon was a magician. They*

mara pungkanha<sup>5</sup> Karlamanangu winpaangu Tyirrityirringu, thamayi  
 select-PAST Falcon-OBJ follow-INF willy wagtail-OBJ fire-OBJ  
*selected Falcon to follow Willy Wagtail, who might stick the fire*

muntalangu, pawangkau tharrwatyaau.<sup>6</sup> Kanangkarrinha,  
 take away-INF water-LOC-OBJ insert-OPT-OBJ arrive-PAST  
*in the water, and to take it away from him. He arrived to find him*

karriyangu tharnartillau, tyampayiwa thamayi  
 stand-DEP ocean-LOC-OBJ little while-OBJ-EMP fire-OBJ  
*standing in the ocean just about ready to stick the fire*

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Text 64, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

<sup>2</sup>Long Mack said that he was sure that it was the tyilungarta or *firestick* that was stolen.

<sup>3</sup>Note that this and the following two sentences are delivered without linking verbs, a usage which is typical of Yindjibarndi. See section 4.2.1 in the Grammar. See also Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 1.

<sup>4</sup>It is tempting to translate this sentence *Falcon was the only magician*, because of the presence of the determiner. But yini is clearly modifying Karlamananha. See section 4.1.4 in the Grammar.

<sup>5</sup>Literally, *Their hands fell (on)....*

<sup>6</sup>Verbs inflected for optative mood are rarely found in dependent clauses.

tharrwakayiuwa pawangkau.<sup>1</sup> Tyanpina marangkaumu.<sup>2</sup>  
 insert-POT-OBJ-EMP water-LOC-OBJ snatch-PAST hand-LOC-OBJ-ANA  
 in the water. He snatched it out of his hand.

Karlinymarnawa thamayi Tyirunawathaartamuwa.  
 bring back-PAST-EMP fire-OBJ pelican-PL-DIR ALL-ANA-EMP  
 He brought the fire back to the Pelican group.

Ngartimuwa<sup>3</sup> waramarna thamayi<sup>4</sup> maanu Karlamana  
 again-EMP make-PAST fire-OBJ unfortunate falcon  
 Again the poor Falcon made a fire for the abovementioned

pattyarriumuwa.<sup>5</sup> Ngarrkunha murlayi. Mirtayhu<sup>6</sup> muntakaayi<sup>7</sup>  
 euro-OBJ-ANA-EMP eat-PAST meat-OBJ not-DET take away from-PRF  
 euro. He ate the meat. If he hadn't taken

thamayi Tyirrityirringu, parniingu<sup>8</sup> ngarrkungu wankayi murlayi,  
 fire-OBJ willy wagtail-OBJ be-IRR eat-IMPRF raw-OBJ meat-OBJ  
 the fire away from Willy Wagtail, he would have eaten the meat raw,

Tyirrityirrinha tharrwakaayila thamayi pawangkayhu.<sup>9</sup> Nhaarrumpa!  
 willy wagtail-PN insert-PRF-LOC fire-OBJ water-LOC-DET this-ONE-TOP  
 after Willy Wagtail stuck the fire in the water. This is it!

<sup>1</sup>A very stilted, but more literal translation of this sentence would be: *He came upon him, who would soon stick the fire in the water, standing in the ocean.*

<sup>2</sup>Literally, *He snatched what was in his hand.* Yindjibarndi often employs locative constructions, where English favours ablative ones. See section 3.1.1.2.2 in the Grammar. I am not really sure how to translate the anaphoric clitic here. The sentence could mean: *He snatched what was previously mentioned out of his hand.* It could also mean: *He snatched it back out of his hand.* A third possibility might be that the anaphoric clitic is serving as a marker for past tense in a clause which lacks an expressed verb. In this regard see von Brandenstein 1970:210.

<sup>3</sup>The anaphoric clitic means *back* here.

<sup>4</sup>This time waramarna thamayi definitely means *made a fire*.

<sup>5</sup>The meaning of the anaphoric clitic is clear here.

<sup>6</sup>The determiner means *if*. There is no doubt of this as on another occasion Ken M. Jerrold told me that mirtayu means *if not*. See also the latter part of section 4.2.4.5 in the Grammar.

<sup>7</sup>See section 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>8</sup>Note the appearance of the irrealis mood to indicate that the stated action is contrary to fact.

<sup>9</sup>I am not certain whether the determiner should be translated as *the* or *then* here.

## TEXT 75

Pirtuwanguuyha Parrimirnti muntu<sup>1</sup>  
*initiaand-DU sea serpent and*  
*The Initiands and the Sea Serpent*

Yurtarrinytyu  
*Gilbert Bobby-INST*  
*by Gilbert Bobby*

Kanyiala parninha palamu ngurranyutyungkamu  
*-LOC stop-PAST a long time ago back when the earth was soft*  
*A long time ago when the earth was soft some people stopped at*

purnrtuta. Ngunhaangkaatyirri wantamarrinhawa.  
*sacred dancing circle-LOC they part-PAST-EMP*  
*the sacred dancing circle at Kanyia. They parted.*

Kuyharrayhu tyutyuula<sup>2</sup> kanytyarna kuyharrau manykauyhau.<sup>3</sup>  
*two-DET mature man-BOTH have-PAST two-OBJ son-DU-OBJ*  
*A couple of men had two sons.*

Karpama Tylrntawurrinawathaa.<sup>4</sup> Ngunhaa ngaartawayhu wangkanha  
*take-PAST Millstream-DIR ALL that man-EMP-DET tell-PAST*  
*They took them to Millstream. Those same men told*

tyuluu purpiwarninha<sup>5</sup> patharrii<sup>6</sup> ngunhaakuyhaarnrtu  
*everyone-OBJ want-PAST be painted-POT they two-GEN*  
*everyone that they wanted those sons of theirs to be painted.*

manykauyhayl.<sup>7</sup> Muntiwarluwa ngurnaakuyhaarnrtu<sup>8</sup> manykauyha  
*son-DU-DEIC truly-INTNS-EMP they two-GEN son-DU*  
*That's just exactly how it happened that their sons*

<sup>1</sup>This story narrates the laying down of one of the two most important sacred tracks for the Yindjibarndi people. Another version of this tale can be found in von Brandenstein 1970:290-297.

<sup>2</sup>Perhaps a *certain pair of men* would be a more accurate translation for this phrase, but somehow it doesn't sound as good.

<sup>3</sup>Each man had one son, according to the narrator.

<sup>4</sup>The narrator agrees that it is also quite correct to say Tylrntawurrinanguwarta.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Text 69, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

<sup>6</sup>All over with red ochre. See Text 62, paragraph 2, sentence 3.

<sup>7</sup>The narrator stated that manykauyhayl means *those two sons*. By comparing this form with manykauyhau, which appears two sentences earlier, it is obvious that -yi here cannot be the objective case marker, which only appears on *disyllabic* common nouns, ending in a (or i). Therefore, I assume that -yi is a deictic clitic. It is possible to understand why the narrator employed a deictic to express the meaning *those* in this context: He had already used the requisite demonstrative pronoun, inflected in the genitive case, to mean *their*.

<sup>8</sup>Compare this form of *they two* with the one which occurs in the preceding sentence.

pirtuwangumangulinha.<sup>1</sup> Parninha parraawa kanytyangulingu  
 initiand-FACT-PASS-PAST sit-PAST long time-EMP keep-PASS-IMPRF  
 were taken prisoner. They sat for a long time being kept waiting

tyiyarringu maningaau karnkunganrlu kanangkarraangu.  
 wait-IMPRF rest-PL-OBJ initiation boss-PL-OBJ arrive-INF  
 for the rest of the initiation bosses to arrive.

Pirtuwanguuyhayhu ngarrkunha kurrarnkurrarnku mityarau.<sup>2</sup>  
 initiand-DU-DET eat-PAST mulga parrot-OBJ egg-OBJ

Maatha<sup>3</sup> pirtuwanguuyhaarnrtu wangkanha: "Nyintaula wantaa parnii  
 boss initiand-DU-GEN say-PAST you-BOTH can sit-POT  
 The boss for the initiands said: "Both of you can sit and

tyiyarringu ngayu. Ngayi pangkarrii karnkunganrlu  
 wait-IMPRF for me I go-POT initiation boss-PL-OBJ  
 wait for me. I am going to see the initiation bosses and

nhawayi purku manyuwarrii<sup>4</sup> ngamay minityarnu. Nyintaula markurra  
 see-POT quid ask for-POT tobacco as well you-BOTH well behaved  
 to ask for a tobacco quid as well. Both of you be good!"

parnii!" Pirtuwanguuyha wangkanha, "Ngaa, ngaliya markurra  
 be-POT initiand-DU say-PAST yes we two well behaved  
 The initiands said, "Yes, we will be good."

parnii."  
 be-POT

Pirtuwanguuyha maathau wala wangkanha, palamu nhawaayi mityarau<sup>5</sup>  
 initiand-DU boss-OBJ lie-PAST already see-PRF egg-OBJ  
 The initiands lied to their boss, having already seen the mulga

<sup>1</sup>For want of better words I translated this verb *were taken prisoner* as in fact the Yindjibarndi do. The root *pirtu-* does mean something like *capture* or *kidnap*. Cf. *pirtunu* in Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 2.

<sup>2</sup>I have not translated this sentence into English, because it does not make any sense in this context. On a second reading, the narrator insisted that the sentence was correct as and where it stands. I suspect that someone in the past made an error, when passing this story on down to the present-day speakers. If one replaces *ngarrkunha ate* with *nhaunha saw*, the sentence then not only makes sense in the context in which it appears, but in fact fills an informational gap in the Text. See the first sentence in the following paragraph.

<sup>3</sup>This man, who is in charge of the initiands, is not to be confused with the initiation bosses (*karnku*).

<sup>4</sup>This verb means *ask for (something)*. When asking a question, *wangka-* (VØ) *say* is employed. See Text 76, paragraph 6, sentence 3.

<sup>5</sup>The term for *egg* is consistently used in the singular throughout the Text. However, the informant thought that there were perhaps two eggs, one for each initiand.



kurrarnkurrarnku, pirtangkau ngarriyangu. Maatha<sup>1</sup> mirta nhaunha.  
 mulga parrot-OBJ nest-LOC-OBJ lie-DEP boss not see-PAST  
 parrot egg, lying in the nest. The boss didn't see it.

Pirtuwanguuyha yini nhaunha, pangkarringu wilayi.<sup>2</sup>  
 initiand-DU only see-PAST go for a walk-IMPRF  
 Only the initiands saw it, while going for a walk.

Karpangulingu,<sup>3</sup> pangkarrinha, ngartayi<sup>4</sup> yimpaarnu.  
 take along-PASS-IMPRF go-PAST beside-OBJ pass-IMPRF  
 As they were being taken along, they passed beside it.

Kunytyirri pirtuwangu thurlayi nhaunha. Kunytyirri<sup>5</sup>  
 one initiand eye-OBJ look at-PAST other  
 One initiand looked at the other one's eyes. The other one

thurlangu mirnumarna: "Kuyu ngarrima tyampa!"<sup>6</sup>  
 eye-INST indicate-PAST let lie-IMP little while  
 indicated with his eyes: "Let it lie for a little while!"

Maatha wangkanha: "Nyintaula wantaa parnii tyiyarringu ngayu.  
 boss say-PAST you-BOTH can sit-POT wait-IMPRF for me  
 The boss said: "Both of you can sit and wait for me."

Ngayi pangkarrii ngurraarta karnkungarliu nhawayi ngamayi  
 I go-POT camp-DIR ALL initiation boss-PL-OBJ see-POT tobacco  
 I am going to camp to see the initiation bosses and to get a tobacco

minytyarnu purku mankuwayi." Kunytyirri pirtuwangu wangkanha,  
 as well quid get-POT one initiand say-PAST  
 quid as well." One of the initiands said,

"Ngaa, ngaliya mirtawatyi parnii, tyiyarringu."  
 yes we two good be-POT wait-IMPRF  
 "Yes, we will be good, while we are waiting."

Tyampa pangkarrinha maathayhu. Nhurnuuyha murrirniyhu  
 little while go-PAST boss-DET these two after-DET  
 In a little while the boss left. After that those two

<sup>1</sup>Note that the narrator consistently uses this word rather than the synonymous nyampali. But see the relevant footnote to Text 48, sentence 1.

<sup>2</sup>Wilayi pangkarri- (VØ) go for a walk is a set phrase. The first element is apparently the objective form of a bound morpheme, meaning walk. See the Dictionary and also section 4.1.2.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>Evidently, they were being escorted by their boss (maatha).

<sup>4</sup>Note that beside is in the objective case and not the locative.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Text 27.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Text 17, sentence 3 and the second footnote to Text 70, sentence 4.

pininkarrinha mankuwayi kurrarnkurrarnarnrtu<sup>1</sup> mityarau, pirtangkau  
 run-PAST get-POT mulga parrot-GEN egg-OBJ nest-LOC-OBJ  
*ran to get the mulga parrot's egg, which was lying in the nest.*

ngarriyangu. Kampakayi pangkarrinha ngarriwartula,<sup>2</sup> mirtamuwa  
 lie-DEP cook-POT go-PAST earth oven-LOC not-ANA-EMP  
*They went to cook it in the earth oven before*

maathayhu karlinytyarraayila. Maatha karlinytyarrinha,  
 boss-DET come back-PRF-LOC boss get back-PAST  
*the boss came back. When the boss got back,*

nhurnuuyhayhu pirtuwanguuyha ngarriyangula winyawa mityarau,  
 these two-DET intiand-DU lie-DEP-LOC full-EMP egg-OBJ  
*the two intiands were lying down, full of egg, having eaten*

ngarrkaayi nganytyaliu parrimirntiyarnrtu.<sup>3</sup>  
 eat-PRF forbidden food-OBJ sea serpent-MS-GEN  
*the forbidden food belonging to the sea serpent.*

Wirruulawayhu yurrangka<sup>4</sup> parrimirnti parntinawa.  
 different-LOC-EMP-DET day-LOC sea serpent smell-PAST-EMP  
*Several days later the sea serpent smelled it.*

Kanangkarrinha tharnartilangu karpayi yurnrtumarnu<sup>5</sup> Martuyhunila<sup>6</sup>  
 come-PAST ocean-LOC-ABL rise-POT now and again Marduthunira-LOC  
*It came in from the ocean to rise up now and again in the river*

wuntuwa.<sup>7</sup> Wanhtharna yintangarliu  
 river bed-LOC leave-PAST pool-PL-OBJ  
*bed running through Marduthunira territory. It left a string of*

yirtinykarra. Ngartiyhu karpanha Nhankangulawa.  
 in a row. then-DET come up-PAST Deep Reach Pool-LOC-EMP  
 pools. Then it came up right at Deep Reach Pool.

<sup>1</sup>At this point the narrator demanded that it is also possible to say kurrarnkurrarnyarnrtu and kurrarnkurrarnyarnrtu, even though he was having a difficult time doing so.

<sup>2</sup>This is the correct way to cook an egg. However, first one has to cover it with mud to prevent it from cracking in the heat.

<sup>3</sup>The Yindjibarndi say that the kurrarnkurrarn is a mate to the sea serpent. It flies in front of its nose, leading it from place to place. This bird is commonly found in the vicinity of fresh water (see Slater 1970:373).

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Text 42, sentence 1. Note how the difference in clitics signals a difference in temporal direction.

<sup>5</sup>This constitutes the only occurrence of yurnrtumarnu in my notes. The narrator translated it without hesitation as *now and again*. But see yuntu in the Dictionary.

<sup>6</sup>See Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

<sup>7</sup>The sea serpent travels *underground*. Wherever it erupted from the river bed, a pool formed.

Parrrtina: "Mirta parrrti<sup>1</sup> nhunhthi.  
*sniff-PAST not smell-PRES right here*  
*It sniffed the air: "It doesn't smell just here.*

Nhunhthimuwayi<sup>2</sup> ngayhala murrirni!" Ngartimu<sup>3</sup>  
*right here-ANA-EMP-DEIC I(LOC) behind then-ANA*  
*It must be behind me, back of where I'm standing!" Then it went*

tharrwanha<sup>4</sup> thurnungka.<sup>5</sup> Pangkarrinha. Wanyaarrinha  
*go under-PAST under go-PAST hear-PAST*  
*back under. It took off. It heard loud*

nyirlarliu ngaartangarliu,<sup>6</sup> parniyangu, pawa ngarriyangula<sup>7</sup>  
*excessive noise-OBJ person-PL-OBJ sit-DEP water lie-DEP-LOC*  
*noises, made by a group of people, sitting near where a small pool*

kupityampartu.<sup>8</sup> Ngunhaangatangu thaarna ngarantingarliu  
*little bit-TOP-CONTRA from that position send-PAST duck-PL-OBJ*  
*of water lay. From there it sent up a flock of ducks.*

maru.<sup>9</sup> Maanuwarangu tyutyungarli karnkungarli  
*many poor fellow-PL old-PL initiation boss-PL*  
*The poor old initiation bosses were*

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Text 33, sentence 4.

<sup>2</sup>Another manifestation of the deictic clitic. Cf. the third sentence in the second paragraph in this Text.

<sup>3</sup>Generally, this term means *again*, but here a literal translation of *then back* seems more appropriate.

<sup>4</sup>In Yindjibarndi as in most Aboriginal languages the concepts *inside* and *under(neath)* are not structured separately. See also the next word in the Text and then see the Dictionary.

<sup>5</sup>The narrator told me as an aside that before the sea serpent went under, it covered itself with red ochre from a deposit, which can still be seen near the river.

<sup>6</sup>The *noise* is being inalienably possessed by the *people*.

<sup>7</sup>The locative suffix is just acting as a conjunction here. Cf. Text 9, sentence 2. Yindjibarndi does not employ a word for *where* in 'where' clauses. Cf. Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

<sup>8</sup>The contrast clitic appears on this word in order to bring to our attention the fact that, according to Yindjibarndi oral history, there used to be very little water around Millstream, before the events narrated in this story occurred. Also, it is said that the ground was more level and featureless.

<sup>9</sup>Yindjibarndi tends to lack words for collective concepts like *flock*, *group*, etc. Quantifiers, like *kutya few*, *maru many* and *manuwarra great multitude*, are properly used in their stead. See, for example, Text 69, paragraph 3, sentence 2. But see also Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

ngurruwarninhawa. Murlangarliu parninha wanpirnu puyhayi  
 happy-INCHO-PAST-EMP animal-PL-OBJ be-PAST beat-IMPRF head-OBJ  
 overjoyed. Some of them hit the ducks in the head,

ngarantingarliu,<sup>1</sup> maniyhu kamparnula tyirnrtaawa.<sup>2</sup>  
 duck-PL-OBJ rest-DET cook-IMPRF-LOC hot coal-LOC-EMP  
 while the others cooked them on hot coals.

Ngartiyaawayhu wanyaarrinha: "Ngani nhulangka<sup>3</sup>  
 then apparently hear-PAST what here  
 Then apparently they heard something: "What's that there

wungkurru?" Kunytyirri wangkanha tyutyunha, "Nhama wala!"  
 roaring noise one say-PAST mature man-PN look at-IMP that  
 roaring noise?" One fellow said, "Look at that!"

Paru kankalawa pangkarri,<sup>4</sup> wanangkaawa kanangkarriyangula  
 spinifex up-EMP go-PRES whirlwind-EMP come-DEP-LOC  
 Spinifex was flying up as a whirlwind came looking for the

wayharringu pirtuwanguuyhau. Parrimirntilu thaarnaarnu  
 look for-IMPRF initiand-DU-OBJ sea serpent-INST send-PASS PRF  
 initiands. It had been sent by the

wayharringu pirtuwanguuyhau, nganytyaliu ngarrkaayiu  
 look for-IMPRF initiand-DU-OBJ forbidden food-OBJ eat-PRF-OBJ  
 sea serpent to look for the initiands, who had eaten the forbidden

kurrarnkurrarnku mityarau. Tyutyuwathaa karnkungarli  
 mulga parrot-OBJ egg-OBJ old-PL initiation boss-PL  
 mulga parrot egg. The old initiation bosses

wangkayinytyarrinhawa: "Nganingka<sup>5</sup> ngaliumpurrungu<sup>6</sup> wanangkaa  
 say-RECIP-PAST-EMP what-LOC to us whirlwind  
 said to each other: "What's the whirlwind coming toward us for?

kanangkarri? Warlarralu<sup>7</sup> ngaliuu watyimangulinha.  
 come-PRES initiand-INST we bad-FACT-PASS-PAST  
 We have been defiled by the initiands.

<sup>1</sup>It is in fact possible to hunt ducks in this manner, hard as it may be to believe. For example, if large birds of prey like falcons are about, ducks will not fly, but will try to take cover under brush, flood rubbish or the like.

<sup>2</sup>This is the correct way to cook ducks.

<sup>3</sup>This form is unusual, but acceptable. The standard form is, of course, *nhula*.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Text 67, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

<sup>5</sup>Sometimes the locative suffix translates into English as *for*. See section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>6</sup>This form would never be used in contemporary conversation. It is the objective case of *ngaliuu we many including you*, which is indeclineable in present-day Yindjibarndi. See section 3.1.3 in the Grammar. See also the next sentence in the Text.

<sup>7</sup>This is the term used by the initiation bosses. The workers employ *pirtuwangu*.

Nganytyaliuwayi<sup>1</sup> ngarrkunha!"<sup>2</sup> Wanangkaa parla muntiwa  
 forbidden food-OBJ-EMP-DEIC eat-PAST whirlwind very really-EMP  
 They must have eaten that forbidden food!" The whirlwind grew very

watyikartarrinha. Paruurru, warnrtangarli, -marnrta minytyarnu<sup>3</sup>  
 big-INCHO-PAST spinifex-PL tree-PL stone including  
 very big. Everything, including spinifex, trees and rocks,

tyulu kankalawa wanangkaalu kankaamangulingu.<sup>4</sup>  
 everything up-EMP whirlwind-INST lift-PASS-IMPRF  
 was getting picked up by the whirlwind.

Ngartiyaawayhu maanuuyhau pirtuwangu wanangkaa kankaamarna,  
 then apparently unfortunate-DU-OBJ initiand whirlwind lift-PAST  
 Then apparently the whirlwind picked up the unfortunate initiands

parrimirnti karpayangulampartu. Wanangkaa kurrurtarrinha.  
 sea serpent come up-DEP-LOC-TOP-CONTRA whirlwind stop dead-PAST  
 just as the sea serpent came up. The whirlwind stopped dead.

Pirtuwanguuyha pungkanha<sup>5</sup> parrimirntilawa, muntyungulinguwa.<sup>6</sup>  
 initiand-DU fall-PAST sea serpent-LOC-EMP swallow-PASS-IMPRF-EMP  
 The initiands fell right into the sea serpent and got swallowed up.

Ngarringumarnuwa winyawayhu.  
 lie-PROG-EMP full-EMP-DET  
 It lay right down all filled up.

Maanuwarangu karnkungarli ngayhinhawa. Nyirlarliu  
 poor-PL initiation boss-PL cry-PAST-EMP excessive noise-OBJ  
 The poor initiation bosses started crying. They made a lot

waramarna. Parrimirnti yuninha<sup>7</sup> muntiwa thurnungka muntiwa.<sup>8</sup>  
 make-PAST sea serpent go down-PAST truly-EMP under really-EMP  
 of noise. That's really why the sea serpent went under.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. paragraph 5, sentence 7 in this Text.

<sup>2</sup>The narrator tells me as another aside that the bosses immediately began to slash themselves all over as a protection against the sea serpent, since sea serpents are repulsed by blood.

<sup>3</sup>See section 4.1.1.3 in the Grammar.

<sup>4</sup>Whirlwinds have been known to knock motor vehicles off the highway.

<sup>5</sup>Note the use of the verb stem punga- (VØ) and not parnrta- (VL) even though the two initiands are falling out of the sky.

<sup>6</sup>There is some difference of opinion here. Long Mack thought that the two initiands got thrown to the ground. Eric Miller went so far as to suggest that one can still see the two initiands lying under the water in the stone like dugongs. However, the reader must bear in mind that the name of the pool clearly incorporates the past tense of the verb stem meaning *swallow*. See further below in the Text.

<sup>7</sup>It couldn't stand the noise. And when it went down, it made such a big splash that it hurled water over the whole area, drowning the bosses.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Text 63, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

Ngunhaatpa yaalayhu yinta wangkanguli Murlunmunytyurnanha  
*that one-EMP now-DET pool be called-PRES Crossing Pool-PN*  
*Nowadays that body of water at Millstream is called Crossing*

Tyirntawurrinala.<sup>1</sup> Nhaatumpa muthayhu!  
*Millstream-LOC this-ONE-TOP end-DET*  
*Pool. This is the end!*

## TEXT 76

Minkala Parri muntu<sup>2</sup>  
*Aboriginal deity devil and*  
*The Deity and the Devil*  
 Yurtarrinytyu  
*Gilbert Bobby-INST*  
*by Gilbert Bobby*

Palamu ngaartangarli parninha<sup>3</sup> ngurranyutyungkamu  
*long ago person-PL be-PAST back when the earth was soft*  
*Long ago when the earth was soft, some people staged an*

purnrtut thalungka Kanyiala.<sup>4</sup> Nyutyumarna  
*initiation rite sacred site-LOC -LOC novice-FACT-PAST*  
*initiation rite at the sacred site of Kanyia. They initiated*

ngaartau. Purnrtut yurluwarninha. Ngurnaakuyha,  
*man-OBJ initiation rite nothing-INCHO-PAST two of them*  
*the man. The initiation rite was finished Two of them,*

tyartaula tyutyunha,<sup>5</sup> karparnawa ngurnaatharnrtu<sup>6</sup>  
*mature woman-BOTH mature man-PN take-PAST-EMP he/she-MS-GEN*  
*both an old woman and an old man, took their newly initiated*

manykayi nyutyuuwa. Karparna yawutpa<sup>7</sup> kanytyarnu  
*son-OBJ novice-OBJ-EMP take-PAST downstream-LOC-EMP keep-IMPRF*  
*son away. They took him downstream and kept him*

parnii.<sup>8</sup>  
*be-POT*  
*there.*

<sup>1</sup>On the internal structure of these two proper nouns, see section 3.1.1.1.3 in the Grammar.

<sup>2</sup>This tale relates the laying down of the second of the two most important tracks, running through Yindjibarndi territory. It appears to be the only recorded version.

<sup>3</sup>It is interesting to observe how parni- (VØ) is employed in conjunction with purnrtut to mean *put on an initiation rite*. See section 4.1.2.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>4</sup>Compare this entire opening sentence with the first sentence in Text 75.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Text 73, paragraph 1, sentence 3.

<sup>6</sup>Another example of a singular pronoun being used in place of a dual. Cf. Text 72, paragraph 2, sentence 3.

<sup>7</sup>The narrator insisted on translating the term yawut as *west*.

<sup>8</sup>Perhaps, a more literal translation for this sentence might be: *They took him downstream, stopped and kept him there.*

Parriwa kanangkarrinha, wangkangu tyutyunguyhu  
 devil-EMP come-PAST say-IMPRF mature man-OBJ-DET  
 A devil came along and, using false words, addressed

kayayiwa, thathayi parwarnu.<sup>1</sup> Pangkarrimarta  
 older brother-OBJ-EMP tell a lie-IMPRF go-HAB  
 the old man as big brother. They used to go

maningkayhu yurrangka<sup>2</sup> pattyarrila wiyanu<sup>3</sup> parri ngurni.<sup>4</sup>  
 part-LOC-DET day-LOC euro-LOC hunting devil at the same time  
 hunting for euros during part of the day, the devil going out

Ngaartayhu thuwayinmarta pattyarriu purlaa.<sup>5</sup>  
 man-DET spear-HAB euro-OBJ first  
 at the same time. The man used to spear a euro first.

Parri karrimartawa, nhaungu pattyarriu, ngarriyangu  
 devil stand-HAB-EMP look at-IMPRF euro-OBJ lie-DEP  
 The devil used to stand there looking at a dried-up euro, lying

pitparrauwa yantiau<sup>6</sup> thurnungkau, parraawa  
 dried out-OBJ-EMP hollow log-LOC-OBJ inside-OBJ long time-EMP  
 inside a hollow log, having been dead for a long time.

nyurnrtiwarnaaayu. Karrimarta minytyuwarnu<sup>7</sup> kurriyartawari.  
 dead-INCHO-PRF-OBJ stand-HAB thrust at-IMPRF throwing spear-COM  
 He used to stand there, shaking his throwing

Pattyarri ngarrimarta yurrurnkarlaarringuwa.<sup>8</sup>  
 euro be-HAB hair-POSS-INCHO-IMPRF-EMP  
 spear at it. The euro used to start growing hair.

Ngartiyaawayhu<sup>9</sup> karpamartawa parnii wankawa.<sup>10</sup> Parri  
 then apparently get up-HAB-EMP be-POT alive-EMP devil  
 Then apparently it used to get up and be alive. The devil used

<sup>1</sup> Compare the phrase employed in Text 75, paragraph 3, sentence 1.

<sup>2</sup> The narrator translated the phrase maningkayhu yurrangka as *sometime in the day*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 9.

<sup>4</sup> See section 4.2.4.1 in the Grammar.

<sup>5</sup> This word literally means *in front*. It also means *before*. Cf. murrirni *in back, last, after*. Note how time and space are brought together here. But contrast wanarra *long (object)* and parraa *long time*.

<sup>6</sup> Note the appearance of three different short vowels in a row with no intervening consonants.

<sup>7</sup> The narrator translated this word as *forking* in this context.

<sup>8</sup> See section 3.1.4.1.3.4 in the Grammar.

<sup>9</sup> 'Next thing', according to the narrator.

<sup>10</sup> Apparently what happened was that in the process of shaking his spear at the dead kangaroo, the devil projected life-giving magic power into it. Later on in the story, the narrator tells us that the devil was a wizard. See also the last footnote to sentence 4 in Text 70.

thuwayinmartawa, piningkarringumarnu karnrti mankuwayi,<sup>1</sup> wanpirnumarnu  
 spear-HAB-EMP run-PROG tail grab-POT beat-PROG  
 to spear it, then run up, grab it by the tail, and hit it in the back

nhankayi.<sup>2</sup> Karlinytyarrimarta ngurraartamuwa nyurnrtiwarl  
 nape-OBJ go back-HAB camp-Dir ALL-ANA-EMP dead-COM  
 of the neck. The independent fellow that I was telling you about

karnkamuwa.<sup>3</sup> Thamayi  
 independent-ANA-EMP fire-OBJ  
 earlier used to go back to camp with the dead euro. He used to

waramanmarta<sup>4</sup> ngarriwartaarnumarnu. Ngaartayhu pirringumpartu<sup>5</sup>  
 make-HAB bake-PROG man-DET own-TOP-CONTRA  
 make a fire and bake it. The man used to bake his own

ngarriwartaanmarta mirtawatyi murlayi. Parri kanangkarrimarta  
 bake-HAB good meat-OBJ devil come-HAB  
 good meat - not the other stuff. The devil used to come over,

murlayi yungkuwayi ngaartaayhu, karlinytyarringumarnu parrii<sup>6</sup>  
 meat-OBJ give-POT man-OBJ-DET return-PROG sit-POT  
 give the man his meat and return to sit, back in his

pirringulamu<sup>7</sup> malungka, tyiyingu murnayiwurtaa<sup>8</sup> yungkungulii.<sup>9</sup>  
 own-LOC-ANA shade-LOC wait-IMPRF close-OBJ-TURN give-PASS-POT  
 own shade, waiting to be given something in return.

Ngaartayhu karlinymanmarta ngurnaaku ngaarta murlayi parriyarnrtu  
 man-DET take back-HAB that-OBJ man meat-OBJ devil-MS-GEN  
 The man used to take the devil man's meat back to him.

ngaarta.<sup>10</sup> Parri ngurruwarnimarta.  
 man devil happy-INCHO-HAB  
 The devil used to be pleased.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Text 68, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

<sup>2</sup>Evidently, this is an accurate description of hunting practice.

<sup>3</sup>Note how the anaphoric clitic -mu in karnkamuwa translates as *previously mentioned*, while in ngurraartamuwa, it means *back*.

<sup>4</sup>Here as in Text 74 the narrator employs the construction thamayi warama- (VL) *make a fire*. The preferred form in normal conversation is thamayi kampa- (VL) *light a fire*. See Text 58.

<sup>5</sup>Here is an instance, where the contrast clitic can be easily translated into English.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. paragraph 2, sentence 8 in this Text.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Text 70, sentence 5 and Text 74, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

<sup>8</sup>See section 3.2.2.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>9</sup>If we abstract the clause Parri murnayiwurtaa yungkungulii *The devil will be given something in return* and backform its active equivalent, which is Parrii murnayiwurtaa yungkuwayi *Someone will give the devil something in return*, we observe that the subject of the verb in passive voice is an underlying indirect object. See the end of section 4.2.3 in the Grammar.

<sup>10</sup>The narrator is having fun in this sentence.



Ngaarta ngurnaaku parrii wirrartparririnha. Pangkarrinha  
 man that-OBJ devil-OBJ get sick of-PAST go-PAST  
 The man got sick of that devil. He went a lot

parla<sup>1</sup> yawukurru. Parnrtayarna<sup>2</sup> tyarnkurnau  
 very downstream-LOC-DRN ALL find-PAST emu-OBJ  
 further downstream. He spotted some emus and speared  
 thuwayinumarnu tyintyimamau. Tyampa parraa<sup>3</sup> parrinha<sup>4</sup>  
 spear-PROG fat-OBJ short time long time devil-PN  
 a fat one. Not too long after, the devil person

kanangkarrinha manyu<sup>5</sup> tyarnkurnau. Ngaarta wangkanha parrii:  
 come-PAST ask for emu-OBJ man say-PAST devil-OBJ  
 came over to ask for some. The man said to the devil:

"Ngali tyumpirirriwarrimarta.<sup>6</sup> Nyinta wantaa pangkarrii  
 you and I knife-PRIV you can go-POT  
 "We don't have a knife. Can you go get a knife stone?"

yirrangu<sup>7</sup> mankuwayi." Parri wangkanha: "Ngaa, kaya.  
 knife stone get-POT devil say-PAST yes older brother  
 The devil said: "Yes, big brother.

Mirta nyinta ngarrkuwayi murrirniyhu! Tyiyarrii ngayu.  
 not you eat-POT after-DET wait-POT for me  
 But don't start eating until I get back! Wait for me.

Tyiyarrii munti."<sup>8</sup> Warrwawa pangkarringu, parriyhu wangka<sup>9</sup>  
 wait-POT really away-EMP go-IMPRF devil-DET talk-PRES  
 Do wait." You could still hear that devil talking

<sup>1</sup>The narrator translates this word as *hard*. And, indeed, there are a number of contexts in which this translation appears to be very appropriate. See the Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup>Note the lone appearance of *parnrtaya-* (VL), which is unusual in this narrator's vocabulary. See Text 42, sentence 7.

<sup>3</sup>This is an interesting construction. See section 4.1.1.4.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>4</sup>Note that *-nha* here is not marking a proper noun, for as we have observed three sentences earlier and will observe again in the following sentence, *parri* is inflected like a common noun. With common nouns, *-nha* means *one thing, person*. Informants tend to translate it as *one*. See also Text 70, sentence 4.

<sup>5</sup>This word is a noun. But see also the fourth footnote in section 3.1.4.1.3.2 in the Grammar.

<sup>6</sup>This word makes a good tongue-twister, having all three kinds of 'r' which occur in Yindjibarndi - retroflex, flap/trill and reverse flap.

<sup>7</sup>A kind of shale rock.

<sup>8</sup>Note the use of the potential rather than the imperative mood here and in the preceding sentence. Perhaps the potential mood is more polite. See section 4.2.2.3 in the Grammar.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 4.

kana ngarta.<sup>1</sup> clear still  
clearly as he was walking off in the distance.

Ngaarta karpanha man get up-PAST  
After that, the man

murrirniyhu. Purrina tyarnkurnau ngarriwartulangu,  
after-DET take out-PAST emu-OBJ earth oven-LOC-ABL  
got up. He took the emu out of the earth oven and

wirnrarnumarnu. Karpangumarnu<sup>2</sup> watyikartau<sup>3</sup> marnrtayi,  
cut-PROG ascend-PROG big-OBJ mountain-OBJ  
cut it up. He ascended the tall mountain and went into

tharrwangumarnu ngamarlangu,<sup>4</sup> parri ngunhu karlinytyarriyangulampartu.<sup>5</sup>  
enter-PROG cave devil that come back-DEP-LOC-TOP-CONTRA  
a cave, while the devil was already on his way back.

Kanangkarrinha yurluwarrakayi. Ngarringumarnu tyarru wangkangu,  
come-PAST have nothing-POT lie-PROG over and over say-IMPRF  
He came back for nothing. Lying down, he kept repeating,

"Wanhthilawa kayaanha<sup>6</sup> pangkarri?<sup>7</sup> Ngayi  
where-EMP older brother-PN go-PRES I  
"Where did big brother go? I'm getting

kamunguliwa.<sup>8</sup> Ngayi karpayi purrikayiwa yaala  
vegetable-INCHO-PRES-EMP I get up-POT take out-POT-EMP now  
hungry. I will get up and take the emu out now."

tyarnkurnau." Karpanha muntiwarluwa purrikayi.  
emu-OBJ get up-PAST truly-INTNS-EMP take out-POT  
And that's just exactly how it came about that he got

<sup>1</sup>The sentence literally reads, *The devil is still talking clearly as he is walking away.*

2 It is possible that the informant means to have this sentence conjoined to the preceding one. However, the sense of the passage suggests that this verb is the first word of a new sentence and that it is inflected for progressive aspect by analogy with karringumarnu *get up*. Cf. the second sentence in the fifth paragraph of this Text. See also the latter part of section 4.2.9 in the Grammar.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 6.

<sup>4</sup>The narrator says that this is the proper word for *cave*. It does not occur anywhere else except in this Text in which see further below.

<sup>5</sup>The contrast clitic here highlights the difference in the two simultaneously occurring actions. Cf. Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 12.

<sup>6</sup>The short form *kaya* is a common noun, while the longer one *kayaa* is a proper noun. Compare *kuta* (NC), *kutapa* (NP), both meaning *short*.

7 I am not sure that I translated this sentence correctly. Perhaps I should have rendered it *Where is big brother off to?*

<sup>8</sup>Cf. kamungu (NC) *hungry*.

Parrrtayina wirtauyhau yini! Parri  
*find-PAST leg-DU-OBJ just devil*  
 up to take the emu out. He found just the legs! The devil

payawirrinha.<sup>1</sup> Pungkanha thulu ngarrri yathangka<sup>2</sup> malungka.  
*get wild-PAST fall-PAST face down lie-POT canopy-LOC shade-LOC*  
 went wild. He fell over and lay face down in the shade of

Yurnrtiri ngarrinha parraampa, karpangumarnu.  
*nasty lie-PAST long time-TOP get up-PROG*  
 his canopy. For a long time he lay there in a foul mood and  
 then he got up.

Mawarnkarra parri ngunhaarrumpayhu. Payharna mawarnpari.<sup>3</sup>  
*magician devil that-ONE-TOP-DET throw-PAST magic power-COM*  
 That particular devil was a magician. He cast his magic.

Mawarn karlinytyarri<sup>4</sup> ngarriwartuwarda ngarta. Parri  
*magic power come back-PRES earth oven-DIR ALL yet devil*  
 Yet his magic power returned to the earth oven. The devil

ngarrinha tyatyawarnaayi.<sup>5</sup> mirta mirnu wanhtilau ngaartau  
*lie-PAST rubbish-INCHO-PRF not knowing where-OBJ man-OBJ*  
 lay vanquished, not knowing where the man had gone with

pangkarraayiu tyarnkurnawariu murlawariu.<sup>6</sup> Ngarrinha malungka,  
*go-PRF-OBJ emu-COM-OBJ meat-COM-OBJ lie-PAST shade-LOC*  
 the emu meat. He lay in the shade

yartayi kurkanytyarnu.<sup>7</sup> Ngarrinha nhaungu kankalaurru  
*a lot-OBJ think-IMPRF lie-PAST look at-IMPRF upwards*  
 and thought a lot. He lay there, looking up at the

marnrtayi mutyii ngamarlangu.<sup>8</sup> Nhaunha kunytyirriu warrayiu,  
*mountain-OBJ hole-OBJ cave see-PAST a-OBJ fly-OBJ*  
 hole in the mountain, i.e. the cave. He saw a fly, going

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Text 12, sentence 1.

<sup>2</sup>This is a simple shelter with a roof, but no walls.

<sup>3</sup>The Yindjibarndi sentence literally states: *He threw something with* (read *containing*) *magic power*. The 'something' was without much doubt a small pebble.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 4.

<sup>5</sup>The word literally means *rubbished*. I don't know whether it is a loan translation from English or not.

<sup>6</sup>Note how the narrator carefully marks every word in this clause with objective case markers in order to indicate that nominalised verbs and nouns inflected with suffixes are treated in the same manner as ordinary nouns. Earlier I questioned him in great detail about this.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Text 73, paragraph 2, sentence 3.

<sup>8</sup>This word is annoying, because in this context it could be reasonably read *through his magic mirror*, ngamarla being the magic mirror and -ngu the ablative suffix. See section 3.1.1.2.2.2 in the Grammar. Remember the narrator has already told us that the devil is a magician.

tharrwayangu marntayi mutyii.<sup>1</sup> Kurkanytyarnawa, "Ngunhthaa  
 go into-DEP mountain-OBJ hole-OBJ think-PAST-EMP that place  
 into it. He thought, "That must be the place

parni nyinta ngayu muirraayi!"<sup>2</sup> Parri karpanhawa.  
 be-PRES you me run away from-PRF devil get up-PAST-EMP  
 you ran away from me to!" The devil got up.

Wirtirrinha<sup>3</sup> marntayi. Kanangkarrinha nhurnu ngaartau  
 climb-PAST mountain-OBJ arrive-PAST this(OBJ) man-OBJ  
 He climbed the mountain. He arrived to find the man

parniyangu, wirnrtakaayiuwa palamu. Ngaarta parrii  
 sit-DEP cut-PRF-OBJ-EMP already man devil-OBJ  
 sitting there, having already cut up the meat. The man gave

yungkunha.<sup>4</sup> Wangkanha: "Nhaa ngarrkuma munta!"<sup>5</sup>  
 give-PAST say-PAST this eat-IMP blood pudding  
 something to the devil. He said: "Here, eat this blood pudding!

Thaa martuwarnima!" Tharrwana thaangka muntiyaamu  
 mouth space-INCHO-IMP put in-PAST mouth-LOC apparently  
 Open your mouth!" It looked like he put blood pudding

muntayi thampanyu<sup>6</sup> kurlu yawan.<sup>7</sup> Parri pungkanha  
 blood pudding-OBJ but-TRU hot cooking stone devil fall-PAST  
 in his mouth, but really it was a hot cooking stone. The devil fell

nyurnrtiwa!<sup>8</sup> Ngaartauiha pangkarrinha yawukurruwa  
 dead-EMP man-DU go-PAST downstream-LOC-DRN ALL-EMP  
 dead! The men went downstream to Tarda Pool.

<sup>1</sup>How is it possible for the devil to do this, when the cave is at the top of a tall mountain? See preceding footnote.

<sup>2</sup>Apparently, the sentence literally says: *Having run away from me, you are in that place.*

<sup>3</sup>The narrator is forced to use the proper word for *climb* and not the colloquial *karpa-* (VØ), because he has just employed the latter form to mean *get up*.

<sup>4</sup>In the preceding sentence the narrator does not say *meat*. Therefore, we must interpret the zero object here to mean *something*. See section 4.2.9 in the Grammar.

<sup>5</sup>Munta is the cooked coagulated blood, which collects in the body cavity around the spear wound. The narrator indicated that it is a real delicacy.

<sup>6</sup>Note how *thampa* is employed to indicate adversative disjunction. See section 4.2.5 in the Grammar.

<sup>7</sup>The cooking stones are hot stones which are inserted *into* the body cavity preceding cooking in order to insure that the meat gets cooked through in not too long a time. This one was evidently covered with cooked blood.

<sup>8</sup>Note the predicate complement.

Thaartanguwarta.<sup>1</sup>  
Tarda Pool-OBJ-DIR ALL

Murriirni ngunhu parri wankarrinhawa.<sup>2</sup> Karpangumarnu,  
afterwards that devil alive-INCHO-PAST-EMP get up-PROG  
Afterwards that devil came back to life. He got up and

pangkarrinha<sup>3</sup> ngurrawarnrturala, mankungu payankarrangu<sup>4</sup>  
go-PAST on walkabout pick up-IMPRF soldier  
went on walkabout, picking up some other devil soldiers.

parringarliu manii. Karlinytyarrinha payankarrawari tyutyungu  
devil-PL-OBJ other-OBJ return-PAST soldier-COM mature man-OBJ  
He returned with his soldiers to find the

parntayikayi,<sup>5</sup> parniyangu manykawari.<sup>6</sup> Wanhtharna martulila  
find-POT sit-DEP son-COM leave-PAST centre-LOC  
old fellow, sitting with his son. He had his soldiers

karraangu<sup>7</sup> wangkangumarnu: "Mirta nyinta nganiwarnii!  
stand-INF say-PROG not you something-INCHO-POT  
surround them and then he said: "Don't you do anything!

Karrima kunhu!<sup>8</sup> Ngayi nyinku muntakayi<sup>9</sup> manykayi  
stand-IMP still I to you take away from-POT son-OBJ  
Stand still! I'm going to take your son away from

nyinkaarnrtuu." Muntiwarlawa thuwayina maanu nyutyuu,  
your-OBJ truly-INTNS-EMP spear-PAST poor novice-OBJ  
you." He really truly did spear the poor novice

<sup>1</sup>From an examination of its gloss, one can see how this place name sounds to the untrained English ear.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. paragraph 2, sentence 7 in this Text.

<sup>3</sup>The verb sequence here is unusual, but correct. Karpangumarnu, pangkarrinha means the same as Karpanha, pangkarringumarnu. Semantic constraints insure this.

<sup>4</sup>The informant uses a variant form of payankarra to see if he can fool us into believing that this is an objective form and consequently that payankarra is a proper noun. Further on he employs payankarrangu as the subject of an intransitive verb, insuring that we realise it is a variant form of payankarra.

<sup>5</sup>The use of the verb for *find* here makes me wonder whether this construction could be an anglicism.

<sup>6</sup>Note the use of the comitative case marker twice in this sentence to mean *in the company of*.

<sup>7</sup>Literally, *He left them to stand in the middle....* This is a typical war manoeuvre.

<sup>8</sup>Contrast the structure of this positive imperative with that of the preceding negative one. See also section 4.2.2.3 in the Grammar.

<sup>9</sup>See section 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar on this verb.

pangkarringumarnu. Yirtinykarrarinha.<sup>1</sup> Tyampa pangkarrinha  
 go-PROG lined up-INCHO-PAST short time go-PAST  
 and then he went. The soldiers lined up. In a short time they

payankarrangu.  
 soldier  
 were gone, too.

Minkala yintinha.<sup>2</sup> Wangkanha tyutyungu  
 Aboriginal deity descend-PAST speak-PAST mature man-OBJ  
 The deity descended. He spoke to the old man and

tyartaulau. Wangkanha<sup>3</sup> nganiwarnaaayi mankayi  
 mature woman-BOTH-OBJ ask-PAST why son-OBJ  
 old woman both. He asked them why the devil had

nyurnrtimakaayiu.<sup>4</sup> Tyutyunha wangkanha, "Tyarnkurnangaala."<sup>5</sup>  
 dead-FACT-PRF-OBJ mature man-PN say-PAST emu-ACCT  
 killed their son. The old man said, "On account of the emu".

Minkala wangkanha, "Ngayi nyinku kurruwakayi  
 Aboriginal deity say-PAST I you(OBJ) side with-POT  
 The deity said, "I will side with you completely".

muntiwarluya".<sup>6</sup> Minkala wanpirna ngurrayi,  
 really-INTNS-EMP Aboriginal deity strike-PAST ground-OBJ  
 He struck the ground, making a hole.

mutyimarnu. Parringarli tyulu pungkanha thurnungkawa,  
 hole-FACT-IMPRF devil-PL all fall-PAST inside-EMP  
 All the devils fell inside and

<sup>1</sup>Soldiers march in single file.

<sup>2</sup>See Text 59, sentence 3.

<sup>3</sup>Note that wangka- (VØ) say, not manywarri- (VØ) ask for is employed in asking a question.

<sup>4</sup>The objective case marker on the end of this word makes it impossible for us to translate the sentence as *He said, "Why did the devil kill your son?"*

<sup>5</sup>The narrator translated Tyarnkurnangaala as *Over the emu*. Later I asked him if ngunhungaala means *on account of that*, and he said yes. In regard to this, see von Brandenstein 1970:197, 201.

<sup>6</sup>A freer translation of this sentence might be: *I am totally on your side*. The narrator's translation is: *I will take your part all the way*.

thaartamarnumarnu.<sup>1</sup> Parninha ngurnaakuyha Minkala muntu<sup>2</sup>  
*split open-FACT-PROG stay-PAST those two Aboriginal deity and*  
*split it open. Those two people and the deity stayed*

kuyharrala yurrangka kuma.<sup>3</sup>  
*two-LOC day-LOC together*  
*together for two days.*

## TEXT 77

Minkala Wlrra Tyampurra muntu<sup>4</sup>  
*Aboriginal deity boomerang left handed and*  
*Minkala and the Left-Handed Boomerang*

Yurtarrinytyu  
*Gilbert Bobby-INST*  
*by Gilbert Bobby*

Ngarti parni<sup>5</sup> wanyaarringu wungkurruwa. Minkala  
*then be-PRES hear-IMPRF roar-EMP Aboriginal deity*  
*Then they heard a roaring noise. Minkala said to the*

tyutyungu wangkanhawa: "Nyinta parnima tyampa tyiyarringu!  
*mature man-OBJ say-PAST-EMP you sit-IMP little while wait-IMPRF*  
*old fellow: "You sit here and wait for a little while!"*

Ngayi karpayi pangkarrii<sup>6</sup> Kawuyungu<sup>7</sup> marntayi nhawayi<sup>8</sup>  
*I go up-POT go-POT Mount Nicholson-OBJ mountain-OBJ see-POT*  
*I will go climb Mount Nicholson in order to see what that extremely*

<sup>1</sup>And now you know why the pool is called "Thaarta".

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Text 63, paragraph 2, sentence 1 and Text 74, paragraph 1, sentence 1.

<sup>3</sup>There is no closing formula to this story, because it immediately leads into a new adventure, which is recounted in the next and final Text.

<sup>4</sup>This story is a continuation of the preceding one. I decided to separate it, because it describes an event which is more or less unrelated to the one which occurred in the preceding story. A different version of this tale - again presented on its own - can be found in von Brandenstein 1970:284-290.

<sup>5</sup>This verb is in the present tense, because it describes the later of the two past actions, the earlier one being recorded in the last sentence of the preceding Text. Cf. Text 76, paragraph 4, sentence 3.

<sup>6</sup>By inverting the order of these two verbs, the narrator lays a trap for the unsuspecting reader, who may read karpayi pangkarrii Kawuyungu as *will get up and go to Mount Nicholson*. However, the next sentence makes it clear that the translation given in the Text is the correct one.

<sup>7</sup>Mount Nicholson is a tall mountain standing by itself, just south of the Fortescue River and west of the North West Coastal Highway.

<sup>8</sup>I suspect that this verb can also mean *to find out*.

nganii ngunthii wungkurru muntiwarluwa."<sup>1</sup> Nhaunha  
 what-OBJ way over there-OBJ roar loud-INTNS-EMP look at-PAST  
 loud roaring noise way over there is." He looked

kunkurr marnrtaangu parringarliu maningaauwa,<sup>2</sup> wirrayi<sup>3</sup>  
 downwards mountain-LOC-ABL devil-PL-OBJ some-PL-OBJ-EMP boomerang-OBJ  
 down from the mountain at some devils, who were chasing a boomerang

parniyangula<sup>4</sup> winpangu watharnpari, pirti wanpirnu,<sup>5</sup>  
 be-DEP chase-IMPRF leafy bough-COM fail beat-IMPRF  
 with leafy boughs, trying to hit it but missing, in

parkarralau Wirrawantilau,<sup>6</sup> pilakurta ngaarta  
 plain-LOC-OBJ WeerawandiePlain-LOC-OBJ master craftsman man  
 Weerawandie Plain, where a master craftsman was trying out

parniyangula<sup>7</sup> pampaarnu<sup>8</sup> yiyangungarliu<sup>9</sup> wirrangarliu.<sup>10</sup>  
 be-DEP-LOC test-IMPRF new-PL-OBJ boomerang-PL-OBJ  
 some new boomerangs.

<sup>1</sup>There is really no word for *loud*. Munti means *really*. A loud noise is yankarr munti *really a noise* or parla yankarr *a hard noise*. A soft sound is said to be nyarni *slow*.

<sup>2</sup>I think the narrator means *some other devils*, different from the ones that fell into Tarda Pool. Marduthunira territory is traditionally said to be full of devils and spirits. However, Alf Boona, a Marduthunira man, told me that one doesn't see much of them anymore.

<sup>3</sup>The boomerang was a special left-handed one, made of the red wood of the kaarrka tree.

<sup>4</sup>It is constructions like this, which force us to conclude that parni- (VØ) must mean *be* as well as *sit, stop*, etc.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 12.

<sup>6</sup>Weerawandie Plain lies southwest of Mount Nicholson. It is not marked on the official map; however, a Weerawandie Well appears there. According to Gilbert Bobby, Wirrawanti is a 'half-and-half' word: Wirra means *boomerang* in Yindjibarndi, and wanti means *place* in Marduthunira. Thus, the name means *Place of the Boomerang*. It is not clear to me why it includes a non-Marduthunira element.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 10.

<sup>8</sup>The verb stem pampaa- (VL) means *test, try out*. It does not mean *try* in the sense *try to do something*. In such a context one would simply find an appropriately inflected form of *do*, that is, except where failure is involved. In respect of the latter situation see earlier in this same sentence.

<sup>9</sup>Yiyangu *new* is not related to the borrowings yilam(u-) *lamb* and yangupala *young (fellow)*. Cf. Ngarluma yityangu *new*, yityala *now* (= Yindjibarndi yaala).

<sup>10</sup>The other boomerangs were just ordinary ones.



Minkala                      parninha<sup>1</sup> ngartiyaawayhu yurninu.                      Parninha<sup>2</sup>  
*Aboriginal deity be-PAST then apparently call over-IMPRF be-PAST*  
*Then apparently, Minkala started calling it. He*

marangku;<sup>3</sup> wirra                      kankalarrinhampartuwa.<sup>4</sup>                      Yintinha  
*hand-INST boomerang rise-PAST-TOP-CONTRA-EMP descend-PAST*  
*motioned with his hand, and the boomerang rose higher. It came down*

Minkalala                      marangkawa.<sup>5</sup>  
*Aboriginal deity-LOC hand-LOC-EMP*  
*right in Minkala's hand.*

Tyutyunhayhu                      ngaarta parnaayi ngunhthi                      ngurrangkayhu.  
*mature man-PN-DET man sit-PRF way over there camp-LOC-DET*  
*The old fellow had been sitting way over in camp.*

Wanyaarraayi<sup>6</sup> wungkurru,                      karpanha yurramau yurrakayi,  
*hear-PRF roaring noise get up-PAST soak-OBJ dig-POT*  
*After he heard the roaring noise, he got up and dug a soak.*

wirtirringumarnu marntayi                      watyikartau.<sup>7</sup>                      Parninha kankalawa,<sup>8</sup>  
*climb-PROG mountain-OBJ big-OBJ sit-PAST top-LOC-EMP*  
*Then he climbed the tall mountain. He sat near the top,*

kunkurr nhaungu.                      Minkala                      karlinytyarrinha tyutyungu  
*downwards look-IMPRF Aboriginal deity come back-PAST mature man-OBJ*  
*looking down. Minkala came back to search for the old fellow.*

wayharriiwa.                      Pangkarrinha nhawayi:  
*search for-POT-EMP go-PAST look at-POT*  
*He walked over to look at something:*

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 5.

<sup>2</sup>The use of parni- (VØ) here is quite interesting.

<sup>3</sup>On the use of the semicolon, see the last paragraph in section 4.2.9 in the Grammar.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 5.

<sup>5</sup>Evidently, Minkala was left-handed. Lefthandness is not rare among Pilbara Aborigines, but it is not common either. Leonard Wally or Tyampu *Lefty* is a left-hander as is Elsie Bobby. Gilbert Bobby told me about a family in Port Hedland in which one parent and all or nearly all the half-dozen children are left-handed. The only ambidextrous Aborigine in the area known to me is David Lockyer.

<sup>6</sup>Literally, *Having heard the roaring noise,....* Cf. the use of the perfective aspect in the preceding sentence.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 16.

<sup>8</sup>The narrator employs the ordinary locative form rather than *kankarni on top*. Therefore, I assume that he means *near the top*.

"Nhaawarni.<sup>1</sup>      Yurrama ngarri."      Minkala  
*this-INCHO-PRES    soak    be-PRES    Aboriginal deity*  
*"This is it.      There is a soak here."    Minkala felt thirsty.*

piyaarrinha.      Mityarna    pawayi.      Parnrtayina tyutyungu,  
*thirsty-INCHO-PAST    drink-PAST water-OBJ    find-PAST    mature man-OBJ*  
*He drank some water.    He found the old fellow,*

kumpayi<sup>2</sup>    parniyangu yurramalauwa.<sup>3</sup>      Minkala  
*face-OBJ be-DEP      soak-LOC-OBJ-EMP      Aboriginal deity*  
*whose face was reflected there in the soak.    Minkala looked up*

nhaunha      kankalaurru tyutyungu,      parniyangu thurningu  
*look at-PAST upwards    mature man-OBJ sit-DEP    smile-IMPRF*  
*at the old fellow, sitting there smiling down on him.*

kunkurr.<sup>4</sup>      Ngunhaarrumpa!<sup>5</sup>  
*downwards.    that-ONE-TOP*  
*That's it!*

<sup>1</sup>Note the use of an inchoative verbaliser with a pronoun. Note further that the inchoative verbaliser has a stative function here. Cf. Text 65, paragraph 1, sentence 2.

<sup>2</sup>Perhaps kumpa should be translated *reflection* here.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Text 72, paragraph 1, sentence 2.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. the final sentences in Text 60.

<sup>5</sup>According to Jerry Jerrold, Minkala climbed the mountain and ascended into the sky. He was never seen on earth again - at least not on Yindjibarndi ground.

PART III  
ANALYTICAL DICTIONARY



## INTRODUCTION

Yindjibarndi has a substantial vocabulary. In twenty months it was possible to collect and check in detail enough data to produce a dictionary, containing somewhat less than three thousand entries. This vocabulary is even more substantial than might appear as many Yindjibarndi words are polysemic - see, for example *ngayi-* and *paya-* - and many concepts which are expressed in English in terms of special words are uttered in Yindjibarndi as phrases - see, for example, *pungka-*. Thus, the vocabulary is certainly sufficient for normal daily conversation.

A few of the entries represent words taken from the 'respect language'. This is a special set of vocabulary items which in the old days had to be used in communication with in-laws who stood in an adjacent generation level. Today this special lexicon has been nearly forgotten. It might also be worth mentioning here that there is no special vocabulary which is used to communicate with babies (but see *kapakapa*). Gilbert Bobby, a very knowledgeable speaker, specifically denied that any such thing exists for Yindjibarndi. Hale's extensive Ngarluma field data support this contention for the area in general. 'Baby talk' is only mentioned once there (see Hale 1960:409).

The dictionary is arranged according to the scheme which is described below:

All entries are listed in alphabetical order, irrespective of whether they are free or bound, stems or suffixes. Where there is homonymy, the order of presentation is as follows: nouns (free forms followed by bound - all under the same heading), pronouns (as for nouns), indeclineables, verb stems (free before bound - under different headings), suffixes, clitics. Each entry is spelled in a special orthography, which is based on the English alphabet, but modified to suit the requirements of Yindjibarndi phonology (see section 2.1.1. in the Grammar). If the entry has an oblique stem or a stem variant, this is listed after the entry. For example, the entry for *work* is recorded as *warrkam*, obl. stem *warrkamu-*. Then too, if the entry is a noun which possesses an irregular plural or lacks a dual and/or plural form, this information is also provided. For example, the entry for *native flower* appears as follows: *tyurtu*, pl. *-pirri*. Note that the 'Key to Abbreviations' contains a complete list of abbreviations employed in this book.

Next the entry is identified and classified using a code consisting of letters enclosed in parentheses. Nouns of the type, common, proper or retroflex, are marked '(NC)', '(NP)' or '(NR)' respectively, while

the compass points and the terms for *upstream* and *downstream* are marked '(NDn)' or '(NDs)', depending on whether they follow the declensional paradigm for *north* or *south*. Noun-like words which cannot be declined at all are classified as indeclineables '(I)'. All other types of nouns are simply marked '(N)', and each case is listed immediately preceding this symbol (see, for example, *murna*). Pronouns '(P)' are handled similarly, except that pronouns which cannot be declined are marked '(PI)'. Verb stems and verbalisers are always classified according to stem-class, that is '(VØ)', '(VL)', '(VR)' or '(VN)', but not according to transitivity. Whether a particular verb stem can or cannot take an object is predictable from its meaning. Clarifying examples are provided where there is ambiguity. In this regard, see *karpa-* (VØ) and *wirti-wirtaa-* (VL). Endings are marked either as suffixes '(S)' or clitics '(C)', regardless of whether they occur with nouns or verb stems.

Then a qualifying remark about the entry may be given, for example, *borr.* (= borrowed, borrowing), *bnd.* (= bound) *form*, *rare*, etc. The reader will note that the caption '*bnd. form*' only occurs in situations in which homophonous free forms are found. Otherwise, the bound form is simply hyphenated. Compare, for example, the treatment of *karta-* (NC2,3) with *karu-*. A definition follows unless a direction to another entry is given, which is always the case when the qualifying remark is *var.* (= variant). See, for example, *kakurli*. If the entry possesses more than one meaning, a complete list of known ones is presented,<sup>1</sup> each meaning being potentially preceded by qualifiers as described above. With nouns and verb stems, the most frequent meaning is given first, unless one is seen to be semantically most basic. For example, the meanings of *piyulu* are presented in the following order: 1. yellow ochre 2a. yellow, 2b. orange. Sometimes phrasal or sentential examples are given immediately after a particular meaning. This happens with some frequency with verb stems, the example illustrating how the verb is used in a sentence and which cases it selects. For example, the last meaning of *kuluma-* is presented as follows: 3. mix, combine, e.g. ----- *ngamayiu yiwangka*: mix tobacco (OBJ) with white ash (LOC). With suffixes and clitics an attempt is made to list the most characteristic meaning or function first. However, if the suffix or

<sup>1</sup> Except that anticipated stative meanings are not usually provided for inchoative verb stems nor are predicatable meanings incorporating the sense *keep on doing it* normally listed for factitive verb stems.

clitic occurs with both nouns and verb stems, then the nominal meaning or function is listed as '1.' and the verbal as '2.'.

Finally, an etymology of the entry is given in brackets. Every attempt is made to present a precise morphological analysis as is done, for example, with *karnrtatypirti*. Sometimes reference is even made to other languages in order to identify roots and stems. In this respect, see *tharnangka* and *yurala*. Even so, in a number of cases like *tyananyungu* and *yirryiwartu* only a partial explanation or bare suggestion can be presented. Where the entry has been borrowed and its source is known - see, for example, *Mulakurla*, this information is given instead. In a few instances, mostly involving original monosyllabic verb stems (see especially *manku-*), a purely historical etymology is noted. Cognates from other Pama-Nyungan languages are also frequently listed irrespective of how the entry has been explained.

## A

-aangu + ...V- (S) INFINITIVE ASPECT MARKER [-ra- (= Tr FUTURE TENSE MARKER, WD INCEPTIVE IMPERATIVE MOOD MARKER) + -ngu (2), see also -langu and see section 3.1.4.2.1 in the Grammar]

-aayi + ...V-(S) PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [see section 3.1.4.2.1 in the Grammar]

alarti (NC) *borr. holiday*, e.g. parni- ----: *be on, have or take a holiday*, pangkarri- ----: *go on holiday* [< Eng]

Alyi (NP) *app. borr. Algie Paterson* [< Eng, see Yi palyirri]

arintyi (NC) *borr. orange (fruit)* [< Eng]

arlipala (NC) *borr. early (in the morning)* [arli- (< Eng) + -pala]

-arnrtu (S) GENITIVE CASE MARKER

Arrarli (NP) *borr. Harold Ned* [< Eng]

## I

-irti (S) *spearer* [cf. Nm -yirti]

## K

ka- (NC) *have, possess* [cf. Ny ka- (VL)]

-ka- (VL) FACTITIVE VERBALISER [also Nm, cf. Yi ka-, -karri-]

-ka (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

kaa- (NDs) *south* [see kayilarni]

-kaa (S) *like, similar to, resembling* [-ku (Cl) + -ra (lb), cf. Pn, Nl -kura (= Yi -kurru)]

kaant (NC) *borr. can't* (see purtat) [< Eng]

kaarrka (NC) *redwood* [kaya- + -rr- + -ka]

kaarrwanytyi- (VØ) 1. *slip* 2. *slide* [kaarr- (= Nm kararr *hard, tight*) + -wanytyi- (< \*wanytya-, see punytyi), cf. Nm kararrwanytyarri- and see Yi wantyarri-]

kaarrwara (NC) *var. = kayirrwara*

kaartu (NC) *shout*

-kaayi (S) PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [see -aayi]

kakarlurlu (NC) *crested pigeon* [kaka- (as if < kaku-, see karrwarn) + -rlurlu, but cf. WD kakallalla *white cockatoo*]



- kaki (NC) *borr. bird, e.g. ----- wirnkaarlaa: songbird* [< Eng]
- kaku- (NC) *point* [< \*karku-, see kakurla]
- Kaku (NP) *Norman King*
- kakurla (NC) *doubah, silky pear (species of milkwood vine bearing edible pear-shaped pods)* [kaku- + -rla, cf. WD karlkurla, see also Yi kukura and wakarlu]
- kakurli (NC) *var. = kakurla* [kaku- + -rli]
- kakurlira (NC) *var. = kakurla* [kakurli + -ra (la)]
- Kakurrka (NC) *borr. Yule River* [< Ka]
- kala- (NC) 1. *thigh* 2. *flexed leg* [cf. Nl kala thigh, Ku karlarta penis, WD karlu (see also Yi warnrtl, wlrtal)]
- kalaarra (NP) *patrimoiety, dual division, village quarter* [kali + -yarra]
- kalangu (NC) ----- ngarri-: *lie with legs flexed* [kala- (2) + -ngku (1)]
- kalangu (NC) *sugarbag (honey sealed in large wax sacs in paperbark trees)*
- kalawara (NC) *stubbies, short pants* [kala- (1) + wara (1)]
- kali (NC) *one-half, a half*
- kalunytya (NC) *house mouse* [also Nm]
- kalupurlu (NC) *borr. spadefoot toad* [< Ka kalhupurlu, see also Yi Mulakurla]
- kamara (NC) *borr. camera* [< Eng]
- kamayi (NP) 1. *stepmother who is younger sister to real mother.*  
2. *mother's younger sister* 3. *father's younger brother's wife*  
[see thamii]
- kampa- (NC) *heat(ing), cook(ing)*
- kampa- (VØ) 1. *be burning* 2a. *be cooking, get hot* 2b. *get ripe*  
2c. *get ready* 3. *purrkurn ----- + -Ø: smoke is rising*
- kampa- (VL) 1a. *burn* 1b. *light, e.g. ----- thamayi: start a fire* (OBJ)  
2a. *cook* 2b. *prepare* 3. ----- purrkurnku: *make smoke* (OBJ)  
[< PPN \*kaampa-]
- kampaayi (NC) *ready to eat:* 1. *cooked* 2. *ripe* [kampa- (VØ2) + -aayi + ...V-]
- kampanha (I) *var. = kampaayi* [kampa- (VØ2) + -nha (2)]
- kamparra, pl. -pura (NC) *borr. hard black naturally-occurring substance, which when heated is said to dry up water holes*  
[< Nm (= Yi kampa- [NC] + -rra [Sl])]

- kampatkambat (NC) *spotted* [kambat- *spot* + redup. -kambat, see mutyimutyi]
- kampayarnrtu (NC) *stove* [kampa- (NC) + -ty- + -arnrtu]
- kampayharnrtu (NC) *var. = kampayarnrtu* [kampa- (NC) + -th- + -arnrtu]
- kamu (NC) *any kind of vegetable*
- kamungu (NC) *hungry* [kamu + -ngu (1c)]
- kamunguli- (VØ) *get hungry* [kamu + -nguli- (1)]
- kana (NC) 1a. *clear(ing)* 1b. *visible*. 2. *light, bright*
- kanalili (NC) *dawn* [kana (2) + -lili]
- kanalilirri- (VØ) *dawn* [kanalili + -rri-]
- kanangkarri- (VØ) *come, arrive, appear*; e.g. ngurrayi -----: *come to a place* (OBJ), *arrive at a place*; nganangu -----: *come upon someone* (OBJ), *arrive to find someone, appear to someone* [kana (1a) + -ngka (1) + -rri-]
- kananyuwarra (NC) *woman and her husband's sister* [kana (1a) + -nyu (S1) + -karra (2), cf. Ma *kananyu husband's sister*, also Yi ngurranyu]
- kanaty (NC) *lightning bolt* [kana (2) + -tyi]
- kanawarni- (VØ) *become clear or visible* [kana (1) + -warni-]
- kangkan (NC) *vee*, e.g. ----- wuntu: *fork in a river* (see mirka) [cf. kangkurrya]
- kangkankarra (NC) *forked*, e.g. ----- yirtiya: *forked road* [kangkan + -karra (1)]
- kangkaty (NC) *loose, slack* [cf. Nm kangkany]
- kangkatyarri- (VØ) *come loose, get slack* [kangkaty + -tyarri-]
- kangkurrya (NC) *forktail catfish* [cf. kangkan]
- kanhtharraarra (NC) *woman and her mother's mother* [kanhtharri (1) + -yarra (2), cf. Nm kanhtharriyarra]
- kanhtharri (NP) 1. *maternal grandmother* 2. *man's son's daughter, woman's daughter's daughter*
- kanka (NP) *height, top*
- kankaama- (VL) *lift up* [kanka + -ra (1b) + -ma-, cf. Nm kankara (= Yi kankala)]
- kankala (NC) *up, high, above, at the top*, e.g. ----- warnrtaa: *in the top of a tree* [kanka + -la (1)]
- kankalangu (NC) *from above* [kankala + -ngu (1a)]
- kankalarri- (VØ) *get up, rise* [kankala + -rri-]

- kankalaurru (NC) *upwards* [kankala + -kurru, cf. Nm kankalakurru]
- kankarni (NC) *on top* [kanka + -rni (1)]
- kankarniurrula (NC) *up onto the top* [kankarni + -kurru + -la (1), cf. wanhtharniurrul]
- kanparr (NC) *spider* [also Nm, but cf. Wa *centipede*, WD kanparrka]
- kanpi- (VN) *yandy, winnow in a thartu*
- kanti (NC) *circumcision knife*
- kantipi (NC) *rare diminutive, tiny* [kantui- + -mpi, see muntipa, martimirri]
- kantu- (NC) *low*
- kantungarra (NC) *rain cloud over the ocean (appears to hang low)* [kantui- + ngarra]
- kantuwarri- (VØ) *squat, stoop down* [kantui- + -karri-]
- kantyi (NC) 1. *edge, border, drop-off* 2. *bnd. form nose* (see mutha) [*< \*kanytyi* (cf. Nm) *< kanytya-* (NC), see kaarrwanytyi-]
- kantyiirr (NC) *sneeze* [kantyi- + -rr (1), see thumpiirr]
- kantyiirraarri- (VØ) *sneeze* [kantyiirr + -rru (1) + -rarri-, cf. Nm kanytyiirra- (VØ)]
- Kanyia (NP) *site of the sacred dancing circle (bora ring)* [*< Kanyira*]
- Kanyira (NP) *rare var. = Kanyia*
- kanytya- (NC) *edge*
- kanytya- (VL) 1. *have* 2. ----- nganii marangka: *hold something (OBJ) in one's hand (LOC)* 3. *keep* [ka- + -ny (2) + -tya-]
- kanytyaurra (NC) ----- ngarra-: *lie on one's side* [kanytya- (NC) + -ku (S) + -rra, cf. Nm kanytyakurra]
- kanytyi (NC) *ranji bush (a small slender prickly bush)*
- kapa- (NC) *gobble*
- kapakapa (NC) 1. *gobble-gobble (call of the kapakurra)* 2. *var. = kapakurra* (app. children's language) [kapa- + redup. -kapa]
- kapakurra (NC) *spotted nightjar* [kapa- + -ku (S) + -rra (1)]
- kapityi (NC) *borr. store vegetable* [*< Eng cabbage*]
- kari (NC) 1. *poison which will only make one sick* 2. *bad-tasting, bitter, salty* 3. *alcoholic drink*
- karimarra (NC) *plains kangaroo wuungu* [kari (2) + -marra]
- karimaya (NC) *pub, bar* [kari (3) + maya]

- kariwarnrta (NC) *bush with light bark and reddish flowers, the sap of which is used to poison fish* [kari (1) + warnrta (1)]
- kariwinyangu (NC) *full of alcoholic drink, drunk* [kari (3) + -winyangu]
- Kariyarra (NC) *Kariera (a people who dwell on salty ground)* [kari (2) + -yarra (1)]
- karka (NC) *wash, arroyo* [cf. Nm karlka]
- karkurrangu (NC) *flower of the karruwa* [see muwarrangu]
- karla (NC) *rare fire* [also Pn, Ma, Tr, Nr]
- karlaa (S) PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX: *having, possessing* [karli- (2a) + -ra (1b), cf. Nm -karlira]
- karlairtu (NC) *black swan (has a red bill)* [karla + -tyi + -rtu (S1), cf. Nm karlatyirtu, but see also Yi tyirtu and purnanyirunyiru]
- karlamana (NC) *falcon* [karla + \*mana (> mana-), see section 3.1.1.1.3.5 in the Grammar]
- karlangkaarra (NC) *man and his wife's brother* [karla + -ngka (1) + -karra (2), cf. kananyuwarra]
- karlantya (NC) *scorpion* [karla + -n + -tya, also Ku, Nm]
- karlaru (NC) *small species of tandan or eel-tail catfish (has poisonous spines)* [karla + -ru, cf. Nm kind of prickly bush]
- karlaura (NC) *wheel* [karla- (< kala-) + -ku (S) + -ra (1a), see also -kaa]
- karlawirrura (NC) 1. *dragonfly (irridescent wings)* 2. *helicopter* [karla + wirrura]
- karli (NC) 1. *temple* 2. *bnd. form* 2a. *proximity, proximate, back* 2b. *boomerang-like* [cf. Nm forehead; Ny, WD, Nr boomerang]
- karlima- (VL) *hold back, keep, detain, e.g. ----- pangkarriyangu: keep from leaving* [karli- (2a) + -ma-, also Ku]
- karliny (NC) *returning* [karli- (2) + -ny (1)]
- karlinyma- (VL) *take back, bring back, return* [karliny + -ma-]
- karlinytyarri- (VØ) 1. *get back, go back, come back, return* 2. *back up, reverse* [karliny + -tyarri-]
- karlirrinykaa (NC) *long-nose river lizard* [karlirri- (= Nm) + -ny (2) + -kaa]
- karliwirri (NC) *pancreas, sweetbread* [karli- (2b) + -pirri (S1), cf. Nm karlipirri]
- karlumpu (NC) *common prickly tomato*
- karlun (NC) *cattail bullrush*

karlutyuu (NC) *diamond dove* [karlu- (< karli- [2b]) + -tyu + -ru,  
cf. Nm karlikuru, also WD -lluru (= Yi -purtu)]

karnka (NC) *independent, very able* [cf. karnku]

karnkamarra (NC) *independent fellow* [karnka + -marra]

karnku (NC) 1. *ceremonial boss for an initiation rite*  
2. ----- + -uyha: *the boss and his wife* 3. ----- + -ngarli:  
*the boss, his wife and all the people of their generation attending*  
*the rite* [cf. karnka]

karnpi (NC) *wrinkle*

karnrta (NC) *teardrop*

karnrtara (NC) *rain cloud* [karnrta + -ra (1a)]

karnrtarr (NC) *burp, belch*

karnrtarra (NC) 1. *tendon, sinew* 2. *vein, e.g. marta winpa ----- +*  
*-u: blood follows the veins* (OBJ)

karnrtarrari- (VØ) *burp, belch* [karnrtarr + -rrari-, cf. Nm  
karnrtarrma- (VØ)]

karnrtatypirti (NC) *teary, bleary* [karnrta + -ty + -pirti (1)]

karnrti (NC) *tail* [cf. Pn, Pl *tree*, Nm *upper part of a tree*]

karnrtimarta (NC) *seed of the bloodwood tree* [karnrti + -marta (Slb),  
see purlaala]

karnrtirri (NC) *distant smoke* [app. karnrti + -rri (1)]

karnrtuwangu (NC) *camel tree (camels like to eat its leaves)* [cf.  
pirtuwangu and see also karnrti]

karpa- (VØ) 1a. *ascend, rise* 1b. *fly up or away, take off* 2a. *get*  
*up, arise, e.g. ----- karrii: stand up, ----- tyangka: get up on*  
*a chair* (LOC) 2b. ----- *marntayi: go up a mountain* (OBJ)  
[cf. Ku kartpa-; Nm, Pn karlpa-; see also next entry]

karpa- (VL) 1. *carry, transport, take (along)* 2. *bring, get*  
[< ka- (NC) *carry* (cf. Ny [VNG]) + -r- + -pa (S), cf. Nm karlpa-]

karpamarri- (VØ) *get up together* [karpa- (VØ2a) + -marri-]

karpayhu- (VL) = karpayirraa- [karpa- (VØ) + -yhu- (2),  
cf. Nm karlpatyi-]

karpayirraa- (VR) 1. *raise* 2. *cause to fly* 3. *cause to climb*  
[karpa- (VØ) + -yirraa-, cf. Nm karlpatyirrima-]

karra (NC) *scrub, thicket, bush*

-karra (S) 1. *-ed, -ing* 2. *and reciprocal*

karrarnmarra (NC) *thick scrub or woods* [karra + -rn + -marra]

karratypirti (NC) *slippery, slick* [cf. karnrtatypirti]

- karri- (VØ) 1. *be standing*, e.g. ----- + -ngumarnu: *stand up*,  
 marnrta ----- + -Ø ngurrangka: *a pebble is lying on the ground*  
 2. *cease moving, stop* 3. *be* [also Nm, Ny, Wa; cf. Nb ka- (VL)]
- karri- (VØ) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [also Nm, see Yi karri- (3)]
- karriirraa- (VR) ----- nganii uu nganangu: 1. *stand something* (OBJ)  
*up or make someone stand up* 2. *stop something* (OBJ) *or someone*  
 [karri- (1,2) + -yirraa-]
- karrimarri- (VØ) *stand together* [karri- (1) + -marri-]
- karriny (NC) *starting to stand* [karri- (1) + -ny (1)]
- karrinykarriny (NC) *baby which has just learned to stand*  
 [karriny + redup. -karriny]
- karriran (NC) *sweet prickly tomato*
- karriyhu- (VL) = karriirraa- [karri- (1,2) + -yhu- (2)]
- karrkarli (NC) *vomit, puke* [cf. Nm kalkarl (sic)]
- karrkarli- (VØ) *vomit, throw up, spew, chunder* [cf. Nm kalkarli-]
- Karrkarra (NC) *Perth*
- Karrminy (NP) *Ginger Samson* [cf. Eng Carmine]
- karru- (NC) *river (bed)* [cf. WD karru *river (bed)*]
- karrurnkaa (NC) *shingle rock (one of a number of loose flat rocks found in river beds)* [karru- + -rn + -kaa]
- karruwa (NC) *cork tree, plains corkbark* (Aboriginal English)  
 [cf. next entry and see piyangarra]
- karruwarkan (NC) *kookaburra (bird which dwells in trees along rivers)* [karru- + -pa (S) + -r- + -ka + -n, cf. Ng karrupa[r]lkan, Nm karrupurlu]
- karrwarn (NC) *summer* [karrwu- (= Ku *sun*, cf. Nl karrpu *summer*) + -rn, see section 2.2.8 in the Grammar, cf. Nm karrparn]
- karrwarnpa (I) *summertime* [karrwarn + -pa (C2)]
- karrwarntyarri- (VØ) *get to be summer* [karrwarn + -tyarri-]
- karrwiri (NC) *white rope-like material used by a parri to snare people*
- karta (NC) 1a. *lowness, bottom* 1b. *coastal lowlands* 2. *bnd. form side of the head* 3. *bnd. form* 3a. *prickle* 3b. *projection*  
 [cf. Nr, WD kata *head*]
- karta (S) DIRECT ALLATIVE CASE MARKER [see section 3.1.1.2.2.1 in the Grammar]
- kartaa (NC) *side of face from cheek to jaw* [karta- (2) + -ra (1a), also Ku, cf. Nm kartara, but also Pn katara]

kartaa- (VL) 1. *poke, pierce* 2. ----- tyumpirirriwari: *stab with a knife* (COM), ----- maurntuwari: *spear with a duelling spear* 3. ----- mirlimirliu: *write a paper* (OBJ), ----- wangkayi mirimiriila: *write words* (OBJ) *on paper* (LOC) 4. ----- warayi: *sew cloth* (OBJ) [karta- (3a) + -ka-, cf. Nm kartaka-; also kartatha- *chop*, WD karta- *cut*]

Kartaatha (NC) 1. *Karratha Pool* 2. *Karratha Station* 3. *Karratha* [cf. karta (1b)]

kartairri (NC) *outcropping of flat granite rock* [karta (1a,3b) + -tyirri (S1), cf. Nm kartatyirri]

kartangka (NC) *down, low, below, at the bottom*, e.g. yurra -----: *the sun is low*, ----- warnrtaa: *under a tree* [karta (1a) + -ngka (1)]

kartangkarri- (VØ) *get down, get low* [kartangka + -rri-]

kartangu (NC) *gum from the kanyti* [karta- (3a) + -ngu (1a,c)]

kartanpatyi (NC) *mottled (fur), varicoloured* [cf. Nm karta(r)nkarta(r)n]

kartantyi (NC) *dwarf bearded dragon* (see Text 3) [karta- (3a) + -n + -tyi]

kartawinykarra (NC) 1. *sideways* 2. *across* [karta- (2) + -pi (1) + -ny (2) + -karra (1), cf. Nm kartatyarra]

kartuwarli (NC) *boodie rat, burrowing rat-kangaroo* [cf. Nm kartukarii]

karu- (NC) *smooth and round* [cf. Nm karu *testicle*]

karunu (NC) *smooth* [karu- + -nu (1)]

karuwarra (NC) *meteor, shooting star* [karu- + -karra (1), cf. Nm karuiii *pebble*]

katha (NC) *scrotum and testicles*

kathakatha (NC) (male) *masturbation*, e.g. ----- + -la parni-: *masturbate* [katha + redup. -katha]

katharn (NC) *weary, worn out*

katharnma- (VL) *make weary, wear out* [katharn + -ma-]

katharntyarri- (VØ) *grow weary, get worn out* [katharn + -tyarri-]

katharr (NC) *small worm living in stagnant water*

katpayi (NC) *rat-tail goosefoot, crumbweed* [cf. WD kaipari]

katyarta (NC) *tickly* [katya- + -rta (1), cf. Nm katyakatyama- (= Yi katyartaa-)]

katyartaa- (VL) *tickle* [katyarta + -ka-]

katyarti (NC) 1. *lizard* 2. *coll. uvular appendage* [cf. Nm kaiarti]

katyartu (NC) *soulfather, godfather*

katyu (NC) *tomahawk, hatchet, axe* [also Nm, WD]

kawarli (NP) 1. *paternal grandmother* 2. *man's daughter's daughter, woman's son's daughter* [cf. Nl kaparli, Ny kaparlityi]

kawarliwarli (NC) *butterfly* [kawarli (1) + redup. -warli, see section 3.2.1.1.2 in the Grammar, cf. Nm, Ny kaparliparli]

kawi (NC) *fish* [cf. Wa kapi, but also WD water]

kawurn (NC) *skin* [cf. Nm kapurn]

Kawuyu (NP) *app. borr. Mount Nicholson* [< Ma]

kaya (NC) 1a. *older brother* 1b. *older halfbrother* 1c. *stepbrother through a stepparent who is older sibling to replaced parent*  
1d. *son of father's older brother or of mother's older sister*  
2. *bnd. form red* [cf. Nm katya *older brother*]

kayaa (NP) *var. = kaya* [kaya + -ra (1a), see marraa]

kayalangkarr (NC) *tiny red and white-striped melon* [kaya- + -la (2) + -ngka (2) + -rr (1)]

kayauluyu (NC) *coppertail (yellow-face whip snake in a green and red colour phase)* [kaya- + kulu + -tyu, cf. kuluwirri]

kayauluyungu (NC) *var. = kayauluyu* [kayauluyu + -ngu (1c)]

kayawayi (NC) *orange caper, caper tree (fruit is yellowish outside and red inside)* [kaya- + -payi, cf. Nm katyawari]

-kayi (S) *POTENTIAL MOOD MARKER*

kayii (NC) *blunt training spear* [kayi- (= WD katyi) + -ri, cf. Nm katyirri]

kayilarni (NC) *from the south* (see ngunhthirni[ngu]) [kayi- (> kaa-) + -la (1) + -rni (1), cf. WD kayili *north (country)*]

-kayingu (S) *IRREALIS MOOD MARKER* [-kayi + -ngu (2), cf. Nm -katyinguru]

kayirr (NC) *obs. nuisance*

kayirrwara (NC) *app. borr. breechcloth, loincloth, cockrag*  
(Aboriginal English) [< Nm (= kayirr *paunch* + wara *cloth*)]

kii (NC) *borr. key* [< Eng]

kiitaa (NC) *borr. guitar* [< Eng]

kilirr (NC) *decorated stave worn by initiant in his headband, small ornamental bullroarer*

kimiti (NC) *borr. boss by White Australian law: director, manager, etc.*  
[< Eng *committee*]



kitakita (NC) *tap-tap*, e.g. ----- wanpi-: *tap for attention*  
[kita- + redup. -kita]

Kiyaki (NP) *Clarence Bobby*

-ku (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-ku (C) 1. OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER 2. PRESENT TENSE MARKER

kuingka (NC) *thigh bone* [kui- (= kuyhi) + -ngka (2)]

kuku- (NC) *wool* [as if < \*kurku-, see kukura but also kukurntyayi]

kukura (NC) *wool* [kuku- + -ra (1a), cf. Nm kurlkura *head hair, wool*,  
see also kakurla]

kukuramaya (NC) *woolshed* [kukura + maya]

kukurntyayi (NC) *poss. borr. sheep* [kuku- + -rn + -tya + -ri, also Ku;  
cf. Nm, Ny kukurntyari, Nr kukuntyari, WD kukuntyar(r)i,  
Wa kukuntya]

Kukurntyayi (NP) *Dempsey Hicks (a man with curly hair)* [< NC]

-kula (S) 1. *both* 2. *couple, pair, duo* [cf. Nm -pula DUAL SUFFIX,  
Nb *pair*, WD *pula they-two, both* < PPN \*pula *they-two*, see also  
section 2.2.15 in the Grammar]

kulu (NC) 1. *louse* 2. *bnd. form joined, attached, mixed*  
[cf. Nm ku(r)luku(r)lu *small*]

kuluma- (VL) 1. *join*, e.g. ----- ngaartangarliu: *join a group* (OBJ)  
2. *attach*, e.g. ----- kurriyartau mirrungka: *attach a throwing*  
*spear* (OBJ) *to a woomera* (LOC) 3. *mix, combine*, e.g. ----- ngamayiu  
yiwangka: *mix tobacco* (OBJ) *with white ash* (LOC) [kulu- + -ma-]

kulumarri- (VØ) *become joined together, join together*  
[kulu- + -marri-]

kuluwirn (NC) *flower of the paperbark tree* [cf. Nm kuluwurn]

kuluwirri (NC) *brown snake* [kulu + -pirri (S1), cf. Nm kulipirri]

kuma (NC) *together*, e.g. ----- nganala: *together with someone* (LOC)

Kuma (NP) *Assembly Hill (a hill overlooking the assembly ground*  
*on the Fortescue River)* [< NC]

kumamarri- (VØ) *assemble together* [kuma (NC) + -marri-]

kumarla (NC) *var. = kuma* [kuma (NC) + -rla]

kumarlarri- (VØ) *get together* [kumarla + -rri-]

kumauma (NC) *man who has lost a child, bereft father* [kuma- +  
redup. -kuma, cf. Nm kumakuma]

kumirn (NC) *mosquito*

kumpa (NC) 1. *face and its reflection* 2. *mask, headdress*  
3. *manner* [cf. Ny ngumpa]

- kumpali (NP) *borr.* = marrkanhu [< Nm]
- kumpawirruu (NC) 1. *funny-face* 2. ----- *wartirra: proscribed woman*  
[kumpa (1,3) + wirruu (2,3)]
- kumpu (NC) 1. *borr. urine* 2. *bnd. form urine* [1. < Nm, 2. < PPN]
- kumpungu (NC) *married* [also Nm]
- kumputyutya (NC) 1. *spinifex roach* 2. *other types of cockroach*  
[kumpu- + app. -tyu + -tya, cf. Nm kumpukumpura]
- kuna (NC) *faeces, excrement* [< PPN]
- kunangu (NC) *kind of large headdress worn during a corroboree*
- kunawii (NC) *little pine-like shrub with sticky aromatic bark*  
[cf. Nm kunapityi]
- kunayi (NC) *respect lang.* = papu (1)
- kunayi- (VN) *defecate* [kuna + -yi-]
- kungama- (VL) *respect lang.* = manku- [cf. -ma-]
- kunhu (NC) *motionless, still*
- kunkurr (NC) *downwards* [cf. kanka(laurru), -rru (1) and see section 2.2.1 in the Grammar]
- kunpurlu (NC) *bushy, fluffy*
- kunti- (VØ) *refuse, decline*
- kuntu (NC) *sacred headdress worn during the maurarra*
- kunytyi- (NC) *one*
- kunytyimu (NC) *poss. borr. single, alone, solitary, only* [as if kunytyi- + -mu, but cf. Nm *one*]
- kunytyirri (NC) 1a. *one* 1b. *same (one)* 1c. ----- + -la: *once*  
2a. *a, an, some* 2b. *(an)other (one)* [kunytyi- + -rri (1)]
- kunyurr (NC) *snug and warm, cosy*
- kupitya, pl. kupiyarri (NC) 1a. *small, little* 1b. *small amount, little bit* 2a. *thin* 2b. *narrow*
- kupityaarri- (VØ) *get small(er) or thin(ner), shrink*  
[kupitya (1,2a) + app. -karri-]
- kupiyarri (NC) see kupitya [kupitya + -rri (2)]
- kupiyarrima- (VL) *cut or break into little pieces* [kupiyarri + -ma-]
- kura (NC) *pyramidal spiderflower*
- kurarra (NC) *Pied Piper bush, native mesquite (resembles the kura)*  
[kura + -rra (1)]

- kuriwaartarri- (VØ) 1. *circle back* 2. *spin around as if dizzy*  
[kuri- (app. > nguri, see kumpa) + waartarri-, cf. Nm  
kuriwakartarri-, Tr kuri[k]urirri- *turn around*]
- kurka (NC) *ear* [cf. Ku kurtka, Nm kurlka]
- kurkanyan (NC) *variety of silver-leaf wattle with a large leaf*  
[kurka + -nya + -n, cf. Nm kurlkanyan]
- kurkanytya- (VL) 1. *think* 2. *remember* 3. *believe in* [kurka + -ny  
(2) + -tya-, cf. Nm kurlkawarni-]
- kurkaurta (NC) *variety of wattle, closely related to the kurkanyan  
and providing edible seeds in a jacket* [kurka + -ku (S) +  
-rta (1)]
- kurkawatyī (NC) 1. *deaf* 2. *stupid* [kurka + watyi (1)]
- kurla (NC) *buttock* [also Ku]
- kurlimpa (NC) *tea tree* [kurli- + -mpa, cf. Nm kurlipirn]
- kurlu (NC) 1. *warm, hot* 2. *small of back* [also Ku, but cf. Nm  
kurlu *hot*, purlu *sacrum*; see also Yi kurla, -kula]
- kurluma- (VL) *heat, warm up* [kurlu (1) + -ma-]
- kurluu (NC) *black duck*
- kurluwarni- (VØ) *get warm or hot* [kurlu (1) + -warni-]
- kurna (NC) *charcoal*
- Kurnaana (NP) *Spirit Mountain (sacred site for insanity)* [cf. kurna  
and ngunhaana]
- kurnan (NC) *soft black rock used as paint, app. manganese ore*  
[kurna + -n]
- Kurnapuka (NP) *borr. Goonabooka Pool, Blackfellows' Pool*  
(Aboriginal English) [< Nm (= Yi kurna + -puka)]
- kurnarra (NC) *black ash* [kurna + -rra (S1)]
- kurni (NC) *turned in upon itself*; e.g. kawurn -----: *folded skin*,  
mirrityi -----: *coiled rope*, ngaarta ----- parningu: *man sitting  
huddled up*
- kurnkurn (NC) *blowfish* [kurn- + redup. -kurn]
- kurnma (NC) *delicious*
- kurnmairti (NC) *good hunter* [kurnma + -irti]
- kurnrta (NC) 1. *respect, deference*; e.g. wangka -----: *respect  
language, high language* (Aboriginal English); ----- + -yi wangka-:  
*speak the high language* (OBJ), *talk deferentially* 2. *shyness*,  
*shame, embarrassment* [also Nm, Ny; cf. WD kurnrta(kurnrta),  
Wa kurnrtayi]

- kurnrtakarra (NC) *mother's brother and his sister's son* [kurnrta (1) + -Ø- (3) + -karra (2), cf. Nm kurnrtalkarra]
- kurnrtat (NC) 1. *daughter* 2. *stepdaughter* 3. *daughter of a man's brother or of a woman's sister* [cf. Nm, Ny, Wa kurnrtal, also WD yurnrtal]
- Kurnrtatyarri (NC) *Mutual Respect (name of a corroboree owned by Jack Ray)* [kurnrta (1) + -tyarri]
- kurnrtii (NC) *small black beetle that swims on top of the water* [cf. Nm ku[r]n[r]tiri]
- kurnrtu (NC) 1a. *brain* 1b. *mind* 2. *milk*
- kurra- (NC) *rough stuff*
- Kurrama (NC) *Kurrama (people who dwell on rough ground, see also Kariyarra)* [kurra- + -ma (1), cf. kurrartu, Ngarluma]
- kurrarka (NC) *itchy caterpillar* [kurra- + -r- + -ka]
- kurrarnkurrarn (NC) *mulga parrot, many-coloured parrot* [kurrarn- + redup. -kurrarn, also cf. kurrawayi- and see Text 75]
- kurrartu (NC) *walking stick* [app. kurra- + -rtu (S1), see Kurrama]
- kurraurra (NC) *rough, course* [kurra- + redup. -kurra, cf. Nm kurraurra]
- kurrawayi- (VN) *swim* [cf. -yi-]
- kurri (NC) *young single girl ready for marriage* [cf. Nr unmarried woman, girl, WD (potential) spouse]
- kurriyarta (NC) *long two-piece throwing spear with a tanged point* [cf. Nm kurrtiyarta (= kurrtiya stone blade + -rta), By kuttyarta, WD kurlarta]
- kurru- (NC) *dead* [cf. Ku kurru dead; Pn, Pl kutu; Ny deceased person]
- kurru (S) DIRECTIONAL ALLATIVE CASE MARKER [-ku (C1) + -rru (1), cf. WD -kutu]
- kurruanhnthu (NC) *male bungarra or Gould's sand monitor (a scavenger)* [kurru- + -ma (1) + -nhthu, cf. nyarrimanhthu]
- kurrurta (NC) *stopped dead, dead still* [kurru- + -rta (1)]
- kurrurtarri- (VØ) *stop dead* [kurrurta + -rri-]
- kurruwa- (VL) ----- nganangu: *side with someone (OBJ), take sides with someone, take someone's part* [cf. -ka-, see also kurtun, kuluma- (1)]
- kurrwaru (NC) *pied butcher bird* [cf. Nm kurrparu pied butcher bird, Wa kurrparuparu, but also note WD kurrparu magpie, Pl kurrparturtu]
- kurrwiny (NC) *darter (bird)* [cf. Nm kurrpiny spearhead, kurrpinykura darter]

- kurta (NC) 1. *respect lang. brother* 2. *bnd. form older brother*  
[cf. N1, WD *older brother*]
- kurtaarra (NC) *man and his younger sibling* [kurta- + -karra (2),  
see also thurtuwarra]
- kurtampaa (NC) *old (thing)* [cf. kurta-, Nm kurtampara]
- kurtan (NC) *bag, sack* [cf. Nr kutu and see Yi tyawurta]
- kurti (NC) *red marsupial mouse*
- kurtinyirri (NC) *rain cloud over the land*
- kurtun (NC) *together*
- kurtuntyarri- (VØ) *get together* [kurtun + -tyarri-]
- kuru- (NC) *round and fat object* [cf. Ma, WD *kuru eye* < PPN,  
also Nm *kuru seed*, *kururr eyeball*]
- kuruuru (NC) *fat and round, plump* [kuru- + redup. -kuru, cf.  
Pn *kurukuru*]
- kuruwa (NC) *pimple* [kuru- + -ka or -pa (S), also Ku]
- kuta (NC) *short*
- kutapa (NP) *var. = kuta* [kuta + -pa (S)]
- kutaparri- (VØ) *var. = kutawarni-* [kutapa + -rri-]
- kutawarni- (VØ) *get short(er), shrink* [kuta + -warni-]
- kuthany (NC) *squashed, mashed*
- kuthanyma- (VL) *squash, mash* [kuthany + -ma-, cf. Nm *kul[h]anyka-*]
- kutparn (NC) *narrow* [cf. Nm *kulparn*]
- kutpurru (NC) *purslane, pigweed* [cf. Nm *kulpurru*]
- kutya (NC) *few, some, small number of* [cf. *kuyha-*]
- kutyipirupiru (NC) *app. borr. rainbow bird, bee-eater, bird-of-death*  
[< Nm (= *kutyi* [= Yi *kuyhi*] + *piru-* + redup. -*piru* [*its call*]),  
see also Text 70]
- kuuthu (NC) *tadpole, pollywog* [kuru- + -thu]
- kuwa (NC) 1. *pouch in the inside of the cheek* 2. *bnd. form travel*  
[cf. Nm *kuka cheek*, see also Yi *kuwayi*]
- kuwarta (NC) *urine* [also Ku]
- kuwartayi- (VN) *urinate* [kuwarta + -yi-, cf. Ku *kuwartaya-* (VL)]
- kuwartu (NC) *crawl on one's hands and knees, e.g. ---- pangkarri-:*  
*crawl* [kuwa- + -rtu (S1), cf. *tyinartu*]

kuwarturri- (VØ) *crawl on one's hands and knees* [kuwartu + -rri-]

kuwartuwarra (NC) *baby which has just learned to crawl* [kuwartu + -karra (1)]

kuwayi (NC) *come here!* [kuwa- + -yi (S1), cf. P1 kuka; Nm, Pn kukayi, also see Yi yakayi]

kuyaa (NC) *other side* [kuyu (NC) + -ra (1a), cf. Nm kutyura]

kuyauya (NC) 1. *silly* 2. *dizzy* [kuya- + redup. -kuya]

kuyauyarri- (VØ) *get silly or dizzy* [kuyauya + -rri-]

kuyha- (NC) *two* [see kuyharra]

-kuyha (S) DUAL NUMBER MARKER [< NC]

kuyharra (NC) 1. *two* 2. -----: *four* 3. ----- + -la: *twice*  
[kuyha- + -rra (S1), cf. WD kutyarra, Nr kutyai, PPM \*kuutyima]

kuyharrauhyampa (I) *rare four* [kuyharra (1) + -kuyha + -mpa]

kuyhi (NC) *bone* [also Ku, cf. Nu kuthi, Ma kuyi; Nm, Pn, P1 kutyi]

kuyu (NC) *side*

kuyu (I) *let, may*

Kuyupuyu (NP) *borr.* 1. *Coopooey Pool* 2. *Cooya Pooya Station*  
[< Nm]

## L

-la (S) 1. LOCATIVE CASE MARKER 2. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 3. NOMINATIVE CASE MARKER [3. < 1. or -lu (= Nm -la)]

-langu (S) INFINITIVE ASPECT MARKER [-la- (< PPN -\*la INCEPTIVE COMMAND MARKER) + -ngu (2), see also -aangu]

-li (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. DUAL NUMBER MARKER

-lili (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

Loopu (NC) *prob. borr. Friday*

-lu (S) INSTRUMENTAL CASE MARKER

## M

-ma- (VL) FACTITIVE VERBALISER [also Ku and Nm, cf. Nb ma- (VL) *make, do*]

-ma (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. IMPERATIVE MOOD MARKER

-maa (s) *-maker, -doer* [-ma- + -ra (2)]

maalaarra (NC) *man and his father's father* [maali + -yarra (2)]

maali (NP) 1a. *paternal grandfather* 1b. *man's son's son, woman's daughter's son* 1c. *man's son's dog* 2. *ngayu* -----: *term of address for one's son* [cf. Nm mayili]

maanuu, pl. -warrangu (NC) *unfortunate, poor fellow* [cf. Nm maratyunu]

maanyu (NC) *man whose head has been screwed* [cf. Ku manhu and Nm manhuka- (= Yi pirriya- [2]), also PPM \*manu *neck, throat* (see also wanhtha- [VL])]

maap, obl. stem maapu- (NC) *group, mob, bunch* [< Eng]

maapu- (NC) see maap [back formation from free form, see payllamu-]

maarla (NC) *echo*

maarrka (NC) 1. *preying mantis* 2. *emu-man* [mara (1) + -rr- + -ka, cf. Nm maralka]

maarta (NC) 1a. *right hand* 1b. *right-handed* 2. *right side* [maa- + -rta (1), cf. Ku maya(a)rta, Nm mayangu]

maatha (NC) *poss. borr. boss, chief, master* [< Eng, but see Text 48, sentence 1]

malaya (NC) *borr. wine* [< Nm (= Yi tyinhtharr, see also kari)]

malu (NC) 1. *shade* 2. *shadow*

-malu (S) *quantity* [also Nm, cf. WD -lmarlu and see also Yi maru]

malungu (NC) *borr. bug-eyed monster* [< Ma (= Yi malu + -ngu [1c])]

malura (NC) *shady* [malu (1) + -ra (1b)]

malurarri- (VØ) *get shady* [malura + -rri-]

malurta (NC) *borr. any member of a series which is neither first nor last; e.g. index, middle or ring finger* [< Nm malhurta (= Yi mathu + -rta [1]), cf. Ku mathurrka *index finger* and see Yi Mulakurla]

maluyhu- (VL) *give nyiinnyiin, cast a spell* [app. malu + -yhu- (1)]

malyun (NC) *butterfish, scat*

mama, obl. sg. stem mamani- (NP) 1. *prob. borr. father* 2. *stepfather who is younger brother to real father* 3. *father's younger brother* 4. *mother's younger sister's husband*

Mama, no du. or pl. (NC) *loan trans. God the Father* [< Eng via NP1]

-mama (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

mamani- (NP) see mama (NP) [mama (NP) + -ni, cf. yumuni]

mamiya (NC) *clown, trickster*

Mamiya (NP) *Ben Clark* [< NC]

-man (S) *borr. person, thing* [< Eng man]

mana- (VØ) *respect lang. = manku-* [< past tense of the obs. form \*ma- (VN)]

mangkarn (NC) 1a. *spirit, soul* 1b. *loan trans., u.c. Holy Spirit*  
2. *rare loan trans. spirits, alcoholic beverage* (see Text 69,  
paragraph 2, sentence 7) [1b., 2. < Eng]

mangkurla, pl. -rra (NC) *child*

Mangkurtu (NC) *Fortescue River* [cf. Nm *flood*, WD *sea*]

mangumangu (NC) *spear similar to maurntu but possessing forward-facing cutting tangs as well* [mangu- + redup. -mangu, cf. WD mangurl *spear*]

manguny (NC) 1. *primordial creative force* 2. *creation, events which occurred at the beginning of the world* 3. *Aboriginal law* [cf. Ny *dreamtime*]

manhtharr (NC) *prob. borr. grassless flat* [< Ku, see also Yi pii]

manhthi (NC) *wet, damp*

manhthu (NC) *termite*

mani, pl. -ngaa (NC) 1. *part, some* 2. *rest, other (part)*

mankarr (NC) 1. *hard* 2. *tight, stuck*

mankarraa (NC) *difficult, hard* [mankarr (1) + -kaa]

mankarrma- (VL) *tighten* [mankarr (2) + -ma-]

mankarrwarni- (VØ) *get hard or tight* [mankarr + -warni-]

manku- (VØ) 1. *get* 2. *take hold of, grab, catch* 3. *pick (up)*  
4. *buy* 5. ----- nganangu kamaralu: *take someone's picture*  
[< pres. tense of the obs. form \*ma- (VN), see mana-]

mankunguli- (VØ) *feel*, e.g. ----- + -Ø matha: *it feels sticky* (NOM)  
[manku- (2) + -nguli-]

manngarlany (NC) *sticky* [cf. tyamarlany]

manparli (NC) *circumcised* [also Ku]

manparlima- (VL) *push back the remaining foreskin on a newly circumcised penis* [manparli + -ma-]

manta- (NC) *bind, snare*

manta- (VØ) *encircle oneself in a long thin flexible object*, e.g.  
----- mantawunhtharriu: *put on a belt* (OBJ)

manta- (VR) *enclose, snare*

mantanhu (NC) *obs. borr. kind of fish net having a wide mesh*  
[< Nm (app. = Yi mantaayi), but see next entry]



- mantanhuwarlaa (NC) *police* [mantanhu (app. refers to the wire mesh on the paddy wagon) + -karlaa]
- mantarrangu (NC) *stringy plant which entwines itself in spinifex* [app. manta- (NC,VØ) + -rr (2) + -rra (S1) + -ngu (1c), cf. muwarrangu]
- mantawunhtharri (NC) *belt* [manta- (NC,VØ) + -punhtharri]
- Manti (NC) *rare borrh. Monday* [< Eng]
- Mantiirti (NP) *borrh. 1. a certain gum tree on the top of a hill in Cooya Gorge 2. Gum Tree-in-the-Moon* [< Nm (= mantu meat + -yirti [= Yi -irti])]
- Mantumaya (NC) *borrh. Mount Welcome Station (formerly a butchery)* [< Nm (= mantu meat + maya [= Yi])]
- manuwarra (NC) *very large quantity* [cf. -karra]
- manyka (NC) *1. son 2. stepson 3. son of a man's brother or of a woman's sister* [also Nm]
- manytyangu (NC) *stranger*
- manytyarn (NC) *pallet, bed*
- manytyi (NC) *death adder*
- manytyupi (NC) *respect lang. = tyirriwi* [cf. -pi (1), but see kantipi]
- manyu (NC) *1. ask(ing) for, beg(ging) 2. something good to eat, also poss. tobacco and money* [ma- (NC) ask + -nyu (S2), cf. Wa ma- (VL) say and see Yi wangka- (VØ1); also see next entry and manyuwarrimarta]
- manyulaa- (VL) *take without asking, steal* [manyu- (cf. WD [V] take) + -la (2) + -ka-, note also N1 manya- (V) give and see preceding entry]
- manyuwarri- (VØ) *ask for* [manyu (1) + -karri-, cf. Nm manyuwarni-]
- manyuwarrimarta (NC) *bludger, moocher* [manyuwarri- + -marta (S2b), manyu (2) + -parrimarta, also note Ny manyurla lazy, WD manyu(manyu) greedy]
- mara (NC) *1. hand, including the fingers 2. parni- ----- + -ngku: motion with the hand (INST)* [< PPN, but see also Yi manku-, -ra (2)]
- marangkama- (VL) *get one's hands on* [mara (1) + -ngka (1) + -ma-]
- Marapikurri (NP) *borrh. 1. Hedland Creek 2. Port Hedland* [< Ka (= Yi mara [1] + -pi [1] + -ku [S] + -rri [1])]
- mararra (NC) *1. index finger 2. thumb* [mara (1) + -rra (S1)]
- markurra (NC) *1. right, good 2. well, healthy 3. well-behaved* [cf. Ku martkurra]
- markurrama- (VL) *make right, better or well; fix (up); cure* [markurra (1,2) + -ma-]

- markurrari- (VØ) 1. *come good* 2. *get well or better* [markurra (1,2) + -ri-]
- markurrawarlu (I) *all right* [markurra (1) + -parlu]
- markurrayi- (VØ) *rare var.* = markurrari- [< base form]
- marla (NC) *lacy carrot*
- marlangka (NC) *close behind, right behind, ----- nganala: on someone's heels* [marla- (= WD *behind*) + -ngka (1)]
- marli (NC) *lazy*
- marlirri (NC) *flattened*
- marlirrima- (VL) *flatten* [marlirri + -ma-]
- marlirriri- (VØ) *get flattened, flatten oneself (out)* [marlirri + -ri-]
- marliya (NC) *honey*
- marliyarr (NC) *headband*
- marlu- (NC) *bark*
- marlumarlu (NC) *tiny tree resembling a palm but with white bark and brittle wood, growing out of cracks in the face of rocky cliffs* [marlu- + redup. -marlu]
- marlurlu (NC) *circular bark target for training spear* [marlu- + -rlu]
- marni (NC) *any kind of mark(ing)*
- marniarlaa (NC) 1. *marked* 2. *striped* [marni + -karlaa]
- marniyarra (NC) *carpet snake* [marni + -yarra (1)]
- marnmarnkarlurlu (NC) *red-browed pardalote (bird)* [app. marn- + redup. -marn (poss. bird's call) + -ka + -rlurlu, cf. kakarlurlu and also note WD parnparnparlarla *bellbird*]
- marnpi (NC) *common bronzewing pigeon* [also WD]
- marnpurni- (VN) *fan*
- marnpurr (NC) *knee*
- marnrta (NC) 1. *hard material, esp. rock and metal* 2. *pebble, a stone* 3. *mountain* 4. *money, esp. coin; e.g. ----- tylwarra: silver coin, ----- warru: copper coin*
- marnrtaampirr (NC) *firefly (a kind of beetle)* [app. marnrta (2) + kampa- (NC,VØ1) + -rr (2), cf. yintirr and see thumpirr]
- marnrtamarangka (NC) 1. *rare handcuff* 2. *police* [marnrta- (< manta- [NC]) + mara (1) + -ngka (1), see marnrtamirraa, but note also marnrta (1)]
- marnrtamarnrta (NC) *stony (ground)* [marnrta (2) + redup. -marnrta]

- marnrta<sup>maya</sup> (NC) *stone house* [marnrta (2) + <sup>maya</sup>]
- marnrta<sup>mirraa</sup> (NC) *eel* [marnrta- (< manta- [NC]) + mirri- (1) + -ra (1a), see marnrta<sup>marangka</sup>]
- Marnrta<sup>mirraa</sup> (NP) *Peter Munda* [< NC]
- marnrta<sup>mirtayi</sup> (NC) 1. *rocky ground* 2. *mountain country* [marnrta (2,3) + -mirtayi]
- marnrta<sup>ngatha</sup> (NC) *ridge-tail monitor (lives in cracks in rocks)* [marnrta (1,3) + -ngatha (= ngatha- [NC])]
- marnrta<sup>nyungu</sup> (NC) 1. *mountain-dweller* 2. *euro, red hill kangaroo* 3. ----- paru: *buck spinifex* [marnrta (3) + -nyungu]
- Marnrta<sup>purlungka</sup> (NP) *app. borr.* 1. *Mundabullanganna Pool* 2. *Munda Station, Mundabullangana* [< Ka (= Yi marnrta [3] + purlu- + -ngka [1])]
- marnrta<sup>warni</sup>- (VØ) *turn to stone* [marnrta (1) + -warni-]
- marnrta<sup>i</sup>- (NC) *father*
- marnrta<sup>tiwarra</sup> (NC) *young buck kangaroo* [marnrta<sup>i</sup>- + -pa (S) + -rra (S1)]
- marnrta<sup>tiyarra</sup> (NC) *father and child* [marnrta<sup>i</sup>- + -yarra (2)]
- marpa (NC) 1. *cadjeput, paperbark tree* 2. *sheet or blanket of paperbark* 3. ----- kumpaarl<sup>aa</sup>: *paper money, banknote*
- marpa<sup>maya</sup> (NC) *paperbark house* [marpa (2) + <sup>maya</sup>]
- Marra (NP) *Gilbert Bobby's country* [see marrar<sup>li</sup> and Partuwartu]
- marra (S) *one*
- marraa (NP) 1. *younger brother* 2. *younger halfbrother* 3. *stepbrother through stepparent who is younger sibling to replaced parent* 4. *son of father's younger brother or of mother's younger sister* [marra- (= Ny marrka) + -ra (1a), cf. Nm marrkara, Ny marrkartu, WD *younger sibling*, see also Yi kayaa]
- marrar<sup>li</sup> (NC) *wing* [marra- (= Pn) + -r<sup>li</sup>, cf. Nm marrir<sup>li</sup> (see Yi tyurtairri)]
- Marrawartu (NC) *person belonging to the Marra mob (bunch)* [Marra + -partu (1)]
- marri- (VØ) RECIPROCAL VERBALISER [< S]
- marri (S) RECIPROCAL SUFFIX
- marriwaa- (VØ) *wave*
- marrkanhu (NP) 1. *wife's brother, man's sister's husband* 2. *son of a man's mother's brother or of a man's father's sister* [cf. -nhu (2) and see marraa, but also kananyuwarra]
- marrkanhuwarra (NC) *man and his wife's brother* [marrkanhu (1) + -karra (2)]

*marru* (NC) *widow(er)*

*marruwa* (NC) *snakewood*

*marta* (NC) 1. *blood* 2. *bnd. form weight*

*-marta* (S) 1a. *-eater* 1b. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2a. HABITUAL ASPECT  
MARKER 2b. AGENT SUFFIX

*martama-* (VL) *put weight on, press* [*marta-* + *-ma-*, cf. Nm *malhama-*]

*martamarta* (NC) 1. *red* 2a. *ngaarta* -----: *mulatto, half-caste,*  
*half-breed* 2b. *yawarta* -----: *chestnut horse* [*marta* + redup. *-marta*]

*martamartarri-* (VØ) *turn red* [*martamarta* (1) + *-rri-*]

*martarr* (NC) *red ochre* [*marta* + *-rr* (1)]

*martawutpu* (NC) *sap from the bloodwood tree* [*marta* + *putpu*]

*marti* (NC) *trail, track*

*martimirri* (NC) = *martumirri* [< base form, see section 2.2.6 in  
the Grammar]

*martirra* (NC) *rock morning glory, sweet potato bush (sends out*  
*many runners from which potatoes grow)* [*marti* + *-rra* (S1)]

*martiya* (NC) *respect lang. = yirtiya* [*marti* + *-tya*]

*martu* (NC) 1. *space, place or spot, e.g. ----- mara: palm of the*  
*hand, ----- tyina: sole of the foot* 2. *bnd. form sleep*  
3. *bnd. form water*

*martuli* (NC) *centre, middle of a two-dimensional space* [*martu* + *-li*  
(1)]

*martulila* (NC) *in the centre* [*martuli* + *-la* (1), cf. Nm *marturala*]

*martulimpili* (NC) *middle of the night, midnight* [*martu-* (2) + *-li*  
(1) + *-mpi* + *-li* (1), cf. Nm *martumartu*]

*martuma-* (VL) *make a place, make room* [*martu* + *-ma-*, cf. Nm *martuka-*]

*martumirri* (NC) *damp bread* [see *martu-* (3), *mirrin*]

*martungkamu* (I) *time to get up, early in the morning* [*martu-* (2) +  
*-ngka* (1) + *-mu* (3b), cf. Nm *martungkalli*]

*martungkarri-* (VØ) *take one's place, take a seat* (see Text 47,  
sentence 1) [*martu* + *-ngka* (1) + *-rri-*]

*martunkura* (NC) *ibis* [*martu-* (3) + *-n* + *-ku* (S) + *-ra* (1a), cf. Nm  
*martuwari* *kind of water plant* (see *kayawayi*) and see Yi *-kaa*]

*martuurraa* (NC) *flat on one's back* [*martu-* (2) + *-purraa*, cf. Nm  
*martutharrara*]

*martuwarlaa* (NC) *utility van, ute* [*martu* + *-karlaa*]

- martuwarni- (VØ) *thaa* -----: *open one's mouth* (NOM) [martu + -warni-]  
 Martuwinhthi (NP) *app. borr. pool near Yandearra used to conduct inquest rites* [< Ka, but cf. martu- (3)]  
 Martuyhuni (NC) *var. = Martuyhunira* [cf. martu- (3) and see also Ngarluma]  
 Martuyhunira (NC) *Marduthunira (people who dwell by the sea)* [Martuyhuni + -ra (1a)]  
 maru (NC) *a lot, many, much* [cf. Ny marlu]  
 mata (NC) *climbing sweet-potato (a kind of grape vine)* [also WD]  
 matha (NC) 1. *melted* 2. *dissolved* 3. *sticky* [cf. Nm malha]  
 mathama- (VL) 1. *melt* 2. *dissolve* [matha (1,2) + -ma-]  
 mathangu (NC) *purple river fig, sandpaper fig* [app. matha (1,3) + -ngu (1c), cf. Nm malhangarra *honey*]  
 mathit (NC) *languid, inactive* [cf. Nm malhil]  
 mathittyarri- (VØ) *become languid* [mathit + -tyarri-, cf. Nm malhiltyarri-]  
 mathu (NC) *the middle of a linear sequence* [cf. Nm malhu]  
 mathungka (NC) *in the middle, in between* [mathu + -ngka (1)]  
 matyamatya (NC) 1. *showing off, acting important* 2. ----- pangkarri-: *strut around* [matya- + redup. -matya]  
 matyamatyarri- (VØ) *show off* [matyamatya (1) + -rri-]  
 matyirr (NC) *borr. match* [maty- (< Eng) + -tyi + -rr (1)]  
 mau- (NC) *cut*  
 maurarra (NC) *second ceremony in the initiation rite (involves circumcision)* [mau- + -ra (1a) + -rra (S1), cf. nhankararra]  
 maurrtu (NC) *duelling and punishment spear* [mau- + -rn + -rtu (S1), cf. Nm makurnrtu]  
 mawarn (NC) *magic power* [cf. Nm, Ny, WD, Nr maparn]  
 mawarnkarra (NC) *native doctor, wizard, magician* [mawarn + -karra (1), cf. Nm maparnkarra]  
 mawarnrtaa- (VL) *apply magic power* [mawarn + -la (1) + -ka-]  
 maya (NC) *house, building*  
 mayawaya (NC) *landlord* [maya + -paya]  
 mayhankaa, pl. -wirti (NC) *lemon grass* [cf. -kaa, Nm mathankura]  
 mayharka (NC) *exposed tangled roots* [mayha- (= Pn matha) + -r- + -ka]

- Mayharri (NC) *Pleiades, Seven Sisters* [cf. -rri (2), Nm Matharri]
- mayi (NP) 1. *younger sister* 2. *younger halfsister* 3. *stepsister through stepparent who is younger sibling to replaced parent*  
4. *daughter of father's younger brother or of mother's younger sister* [cf. Nm mari]
- mayirri (NC) *level, flat*
- mayit (NC) *borr. might, may* [< Eng]
- mayitha (NC) *water python, water snake* (local term) [cf. Nm marilha]
- mayitpi (NC) *borr. maybe, perhaps* [as if mayit + -pi (1), but < Eng might be]
- maykan (NC) *mountain gum, my gum* (local term < Yi) [cf. Ku matykan, Nm mallkan]
- mayu (NC) *quiet, calm, peaceful, tame* [also Nm]
- mayuma- (VL) *make peaceful, calm or quiet* [mayu + -ma-]
- mayumarri- (VØ) *make peace with one another* [mayu + -marri-]
- mayuwarni- (VØ) *quiet down, calm down, become peaceful* [mayu + -warni-]
- mi- (NC) *know*
- mii (NC) *branch, twig* [cf. Nm miri]
- mila (NC) *pelvic bone at socket* [cf. Nm buttock]
- milintya (NC) *spangled perch, mountain trout* (local term)
- milpinti (NC) *borr. bundle of tyanytyl'n bound at both ends and carried by dancers in a corroboree* [cf. WD drawing stylus]
- milyangkut (NC) *a meeting which is held for the purpose of getting acquainted*
- milyinkura (NC) *mangrove jack, red snapper* (local term) [cf. martunkura]
- mimi (NP) 1. *mother's brother* 2. *father's sister's husband*  
3. *spouse's father*
- mimityangu (NC) *silky pear, doubah* (see kakurla)
- mina, pl. -rarri (NC) *soft spinifex*
- minarrangu (NC) *centipede*
- mingkayhu- (VL) *protect* [cf. -yhu-]
- minka (NP) *respect lang. = kanka*
- minkaa (NC) *respect lang. = kankala* [minka + -ra (1b) or poss. -ngka (1), see kankaama-]
- minkaama- (VL) *respect lang. = kankaama-* [minkaa + -ma-]

- minkaarri- (VØ) *respect lang.* = kankalarri- [minkaa + -rri-]
- Minkala (NC) 1. *the Aboriginal deity* 2. *Jesus Christ* [minka + -la]
- minkalamaya (NC) *church* [Minkala (2) + maya]
- minkayhu- (VL) *respect lang.* = minkaama- [minka + -yhu- (1)]
- minpirrirri (NC) *kestrel* [minpi- + -rrirri, see wiirrirri]
- mintyurlu (NC) 1. ----- yurti: *spinifex gooseberry, very sweet prickly tomato* 2. ----- kari: *kangarooberry, bitter prickly tomato*
- minya (NC) *lung* [cf. Nm minha *slime* and see also Yi ngunya]
- minyamina (NC) = minya [minya + redup. -minya]
- minytya (NC) 1. *deflated* 2. *bnd. form hair*
- minytyaarra (NC) *stemodia (a hirsute aromatic plant)* [minytya- + -karra (1), cf. Nm minytyakarra]
- minytyama- (VL) 1. *deflate* 2. ----- piwii: *milk a breast* (OBJ) [minytya + -ma-]
- minytyarnu (NC) *including, as well* [cf. -rnu (1b,2)]
- minytyiarri (NC) *borr. hairback herring (ocean fish), bony silver bream* (local term) [< Nm minytyikarri, see also wiilikarri and cf. Ny minytyi- (VL) *light*]
- minytyu (NC) 1. *handgun, pistol* 2. *bnd. form point, thrust*
- minytyuwa- (VL) 1. ----- nganangu: *point at someone* (OBJ) 2. *thrust at* (see Text 76, paragraph 2, sentence 5) [minytyu- + -ka-]
- mira (NC) 1. *gullet* 2. *borr. mirror* [1. = Nm, 2. < Eng]
- miramira (NC) = mira (1) [mira (1) + redup. -mira]
- mirka (NC) *fork, crotch (of a tree or person)* [cf. Ku mirtka]
- mirlamirla (NC) *worm which invades the flesh* [mirla- (< muria [1]) + redup. -mirla, see kuluwlrn, tylrtu]
- mirlimirli (NC) 1. *paper* 2. *letter, note* 3. *book* [mirli- (app. = Nm *paperbark*) + redup. -mirli]
- mirlimirlimaya (NC) *post office* [mirlimirli (2) + maya]
- mirna (NC) (*in, after or for*) *a while, by-and-by*
- mirnaawa (I) *later* [mirna + -ra (1b) + -pa (C2), see murrirniyhu (2)]
- mirnat (NC) *ready* [mirna + -t (3)]
- mirnattyarri- (VØ) *get ready* [mirnat + -tyarri-]
- mirnawarra (NC) *var.* = mirna [cf. marnrtiwarra]

- mirnr<sup>ti</sup>- (NC) *small appendage on the body* [cf. Nm mirnr<sup>ti</sup> *pimple*]
- mirnr<sup>tii</sup> (NC) *wart, mole or similar growth* [mirnr<sup>ti</sup>- + -ri, cf. Nm mirnr<sup>tiri</sup> *finger nail*]
- mirnr<sup>tin</sup> (NC) *clitoris* [mirnr<sup>ti</sup>- + -n]
- mirnr<sup>tiny</sup> (NC) *pop, bang*
- mirnr<sup>tinyma</sup>- (VL) *shoot* [mirnr<sup>tiny</sup> + -ma-, cf. Nm mirnr<sup>tillka</sup>-]
- mirnr<sup>tinymanpunhtharri</sup> (NC) *gun* [mirnr<sup>tinyma</sup>- + -npunhtharri]
- mirnu (NC) *knowing, educated, clever* [mi- + -rnu (1b), see also miny<sup>tyarnu</sup>]
- mirnuma- (VL) 1. *show* 2. *direct, indicate* 3. *teach* [mirnu + -ma-]
- mirnumaa (NC) *teacher* [mirnu + -maa]
- mirnuwarni- (VØ) *learn* [mirnu + -warni-]
- mirra (NC) 1. *call* 2. *howl*
- mirra- (VØ) 1. *call out, sing out* 2. mutyira ----- + -Ø: *the dingo is howling*
- mirri- (NC) 1. *long, thin and flexible* 2. *clear sound*
- mirrili (NC) *loud clear noise* [mirri- (2) + -li (1)]
- mirriminytya (NC) *common caterpillar* [mirri- (1) + -minytya]
- mirriminytyangu (NC) = mirriminytya [mirriminytya + -ngu (1c)]
- mirrimpa (NC) *native fiddle, musical rasp* [mirri- (2) + -mpa]
- mirrin (NC) *stone hearth* [also Nm]
- mirrinmirrin (NC) *cricket (insect)* [mirri- (2) + -n redup. -mirrin, cf. Nb mirrimirrikaraa]
- mirrityi (NC) *string, rope* [mirri- (1) + -tyi, cf. Pn, WD mirrilli]
- mirru (NC) 1a. *woomera, spearthrower* 1b. *ulna (bone)* 2. *kind of black and white snake* [cf. WD woomera]
- mirrungkama- (VL) ----- kurriyartau: *load a woomera with a throwing spear* (OBJ) [mirru (1a) + -ngka (1) + -ma-]
- mirrurtu (NC) *baby cradle* [mirru (1a) + -rtu (S1)]
- mirrurtula (NC) *infant* [mirrurtu + -la]
- mirta (I) 1. *not* 2. *no (not yes)* [cf. Nm (NC)]
- mirtawa (I) 1. *certainly not* 2. *emphatically no* [mirta + -pa (C1)]
- mirtawarlu (I) 1. *not at all, never* [mirta (1) + -parlu]



mirtawatyi (NC) 1. *good* 2. ----- ngurnaaku: *better than that one* (OBJ)  
3. ----- muntiyhu: *the best* [mirta (1) + watyi (1), cf. Nm mirtawallka]

Mirtawayit (NP) *Table Hill*

-mirtayi (S) *where the \_\_\_\_\_ is* [cf. Ny, WD -martatyi *place of*]

mirtuwarra (NC) *very intelligent, brainy* [mi- + -rtu (S1) + -karra (1)]

mirurru (NC) *soul magnet*

mithi (NC) *borr. white woman* [app. < Eng Missie, but see also matyirr and cf. WD, Dy mityityi app. < Eng Mrs]

mittyu (NC) *talon* [cf. Nl mil(1)tyu, Pn mityu, WD mityi, Wa mityarn]

mitya- (VL) *drink* [also Ku, cf. Ng mutya-, but note Nm milla- *lick*, see also Yi munytyu-, mungarti]

mityara (NC) *egg* [mitya- (= Nl, Ny) + -ra (1a), also Pl, cf. Nu mityarra]

mityula (NC) *hidden* [mityu- *hide* (cf. Nm mill- [VØ]) + -la (2)]

mityulaa- (VL) *hide, secret* [mityula + -ka-]

mityularri- (VØ) *hide oneself, become hidden* [mityula + -rri-]

miyhirriny (NC) *violet pool fig*

moorlingu (NC) *var. = muwarlingu* [< base form]

-mpa (C) TOPIC CLITIC [cf. Nm -lpa]

-mpi (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-mpu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-mpurru (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER

-mu (C) 1. ANAPHORIC CLITIC: *previously mentioned* 2a. *back*  
2b. *before* 3. LOC + -----: 3a. *before when, back on, ago*  
3b. *after, past*

mui- (NC) *run*

muii- (VN) *make derogatory remarks about, run down* [mui- + -yi-, cf. Nm mutyitha-]

muirri- (VØ) ----- nganangu: *run away from someone* (OBJ) [mui- + -rri-, cf. Nm mutyarri-]

Mulakurla (NC) *borr. 1. Pope's Nose 2. Point Samson* [< Nm Mulhakurla (= Yi mutha [2] + -ku [S] + -rla)]

muli- (NC) *around*

mulimuli (NC) *around and around* [mull- + redup. -muli]

- mulimulima- (VL) ----- nganli: *make something* (OBJ) *go around and around*: 1. *wind* 2. *spin* 3. *twist* [mulimuli + -ma-]
- mulimulirri- (VØ) *go around and around*: 1. *revolve in a circle* 2. *rotate on an axis, spin* [mulimuli + -rri-]
- mulinyma- (VL) 1. *circle around* 2. ----- murrityiu: *tie a knot* [muli- + -ny (1) + -ma-]
- mulu (NC) *blade attached to the woomera handle, so-called 'adze'* [see next entry]
- mulumulu (NC) *cattail* [mulu- (= PPM *tail*) + redup. -mulu]
- mungarti (NC) *respect lang.* = murla [cf. Ma mungka- (VL) *eat* < PPN]
- mungkarn (NC) *solid*
- mungku (NC) *termite mound* [cf. Wa *antbed*, PPM \*mungka *anthill*]
- mungkuyhu- (VL) *nudge* [poss. mungku- *elbow* (cf. PPM \*pungku *knee*) + -yhu- (1), see also nhuurka]
- munhtha (NC) *ring-tail dragon (lizard)*
- muni (NC) *borr. money* [< Eng, cf. WD, Dy *mani*]
- munta (NC) *blood pudding (baked clotted blood)*
- munta- (VR) ----- nganii nganangu: *take something* (OBJ) *away from someone* (OBJ)
- munti (NC) 1. *really, truly* 2. wungkuru -----: *loud roar*
- muntipa (I) 1. *assuredly* 2. *that's assuredly how it happened or came about that, that's assuredly why* [munti (1) + -mpa, see section 2.2.12 in the Grammar]
- muntiwa (I) 1. *definitely, certainly, emphatically* 2. *that's definitely how it happened or came about that, that's definitely why* [munti (1) + -pa (C1)]
- muntiwarlū (I) 1. *really truly* 2. *that's exactly how it happened or came about that, that's exactly why* [munti (1) + -parlu]
- muntiwayi (NC) *perhaps, maybe* [munti (1) + -wayi (1)]
- muntiyaamu (I) *possibly, apparently* (see ngartiyaamu) [munti (1) + -yaa (1) + -mu (2b)]
- muntiyhu (I) SUPERLATIVE MARKER, e.g. wayti -----: *the worst, the really bad (one)* [munti (1) + -yhu (1b)]
- muntu (I) *and*
- munytyu (NC) *cicatrice, ornamental scar*
- munytyu- (VL) 1a. *swallow* 1b. ----- purrkurnku: *inhale smoke* (OBJ) 2. *chew*
- murili (NC) *echo*

- murku (NC) *pregnant* [cf. Pn murlku]
- murla (NC) 1. *meat, flesh* 2. *animal, esp. a bird*
- murlawaya (NC) *one who always has meat* [murla (1) + -paya]
- Murlunmunytyurna (NP) *Crossing Pool* [murlun- app. *initia*nd (cf. WD marlurlu) + munytyu- (1a) + -rna (2), see also karlamana]
- murna, obj. -yi, loc. -ngka, abl. -ngu, all. -kurru (see sections 2.2.10 and 4.1.2.2 in the Grammar) (N) *close, near* [also Nm]
- murnakuyu (NC) *this side* [murna + kuyu (NC)]
- murnama- (VL) 1. *bring close* 2. *rare = murnawarni-* (see Text 57, paragraph 1, sentence 5) [murna + -ma-, cf. Nm murnaka-]
- murnawarni- (VØ) *get close, come close, close in* [murna + -warni-, also Nm]
- murnrtu (NC) 1. *marriage arbitrator* 2. *rare thick, stout*
- murrartu (NC) *swollen* [murra- *swell* + -rtu (S1), cf. Nm murrarmurri- (VØ) *swell*]
- murrartuma- (VL) ----- nganii: *make something (OBJ) swell* [murrartu + -ma-]
- murrarturri- (VØ) *swell (up)* [murrartu + -rri-]
- murrirni (NC) 1. *behind, in back, at the end, last* 2. *after(wards), from now on, late* [murru + -rri (2), see martimirri]
- murrirniyhu (I) 1. *behind one* 2. *after that, later on* [murrirni + -yhu (1b,2b)]
- murrityi (NC) *tail of an emu* [murru + -tyi, cf. Nm murrilli and see Yi murrirni]
- murru (NC) *the back of anything, e.g. kuyhi* -----: *spine, ----- tyina: instep* [also Nm]
- murruurru (NC) *unmarried adult: bachelor, spinster* [cf. Nm murrurru]
- murruuyu (NC) 1. *back side* 2. *tyuntu* -----: *backwards, ----- karlinytyarri-: go backwards* [murru + kuyu (NC)]
- murti (NC) *fast, quick*
- murtima- (VL) *do something quickly, speed* (see Text 26, sentence 4 and also next entry) [murti + -ma-]
- murtimaa (NC) 1. *speedy person, fast runner* 2. *motor vehicle* [murti + -maa, cf. Nm murtimara]
- Murtimaa (NP) *Frank Wordick* [< NC1]
- Murtiti (NP) *Herbert Parker* [see preceding entry]
- murturtu (NC) *overly seasoned* [murtu- + -rtu (S1), cf. Nm murtumurtu]

- mutha (NC) 1. *tip, end* 2. *nose* [cf. Nm, WD mulha; N1, WD mulla; Nm milla]
- muthayhu (I) *the end* [mutha (1) + -yhu (1b)]
- mutyairti (NC) *noseplug* [mutya- (< mutha [2]) + -irti, cf. Nm mullayirti]
- mutyawu- (VN) *poke one's nose out* [mutya- (< mutha [2]) + -pi-]
- mutyi (NC) 1a. *perforation* 1b. *door, window* 2a. *tunnel, cave, burrow, wormhole* 2b. *jail* [cf. Nm mulli]
- mutyiarlaa (NC) 1. *perforated* 2. *hollow like a pipe or reed* [mutyi (1a,2a) + -karlaa]
- mutyimutyi (NC) *full of holes, holey* [mutyi (1a,2a) + redup. -mutyi]
- mutyira (NC) *dingo (native wild dog)* [mutyi- (= Nu muyi dog) + -ra (1a), also Pn, see also Yi mityara]
- muukarri- (VØ) ----- payipau: *smoke a pipe* (OBJ), ----- ngamayiu payipala: *smoke tobacco* (OBJ) *in a pipe* (LOC) [muu- (app. < puu-, see muwarr) + -karri-, but note Tr muu[k]urri-]
- muurn (NC) *hum(ming noise)*
- muurnkarri- (VØ) *hum*, e.g. ----- yurtil: *hum a tune* (OBJ) [muurn + -karri-, cf. WD nguurnma- (VN)]
- muwa (NC) 1. *filled-in with something alive inside* 2a. *buried alive* 2b. *coll. settled permanently* [cf. Nm muka]
- muwama- (VL) *burrow into* [muwa (1) + -ma-]
- muwarlingu (NC) *silver-leaf wattle (tree)* [muwarli- (= Nm mukarli) + -ngu (1c)]
- muwarr (NC) var. = muwarrangu [muwa- (< puwa, see puwarlu) + -rr (1), cf. Nm, Ka pukarra firewood]
- muwarrangu (NC) *big log for a fire* [muwarr + -rra (S1) + -ngu (1c)]
- muwawarni- (VØ) *bury oneself* [muwa (2a) + -warni-]
- muya- (VL) 1. *steal* 2. *kidnap* [cf. Nm mutya-]
- muyanmarta (NC) *thief* [muya- (1) + -nmarta (2b)]
- muyhu (NC) 1. *coldness, the cold* 2. *winter* 3. *year* [cf. Pn muthu, Ma muyu]
- muyhumuyhu (NC) *cool, cold* [muyhu (1) + redup. -muyhu]
- muyhumuyhurri- (VØ) *get cold, cool off (as of inanimate things like meat)* [muyhumuyhu + -rri-]
- muyhumuyhuyarnrtu (NC) *icebox, refrigerator* [muyhumuyhu + -ty- + -arnrtu]

muyhunguli- (VØ) *get cold, cool off (as of animate beings like people)* [muyhu (1) + -nguli- (1)]

muyhuwa (I) *wintertime* [muyhu (2) + -pa (C2)]

muyhuwarni- (VØ) *turn cold, get to be winter* [muyhu (1,2) + -warni-]

## N

-n (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-na (C) 1. AUGMENTED-STEM DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN CLASSIFIER; *one, place* 2. PAST TENSE MARKER [< PPN ACCUSATIVE CASE MARKER (for \*nyun- [> Yi nyin-]) and PAST TENSE MARKER]

-naarnu (S) PASSIVE PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [-nu (2) + -ra- + -rnu (2)]

nga- (P) FIRST PERSON

-nga (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

ngaa (NC) *yes* [cf. ngau]

-ngaa (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. Nm -ngara]

-ngaala (S) *on account of, over* [-ngaa- (= Nm -ngara) + -la (1)]

ngaarnrtu (PC) *my, (of) mine* [nga- + -arnrtu]

ngaarta (NC) 1. *Aboriginal man* 2. *Aboriginal person* [cf. Pn, N1 ngayarta]

ngali (PI) *you and I (in the same generation or in even ones)* [< PPN (= Yi nga- + -li [2])]

ngalinma- (VL) *ask to come along, invite to accompany* [cf. -ma-]

ngaliumpurrungu (PC) *app. rare arch. us, to us, for us* (see Text 75, paragraph 6, sentence 7) [ngali + -ku (C1) + -mpurru + -ngu (1b), cf. nyinkupurru-]

ngaliuu (PI) *several of us including you (in the same generation or in even ones)* [ngali + -uu]

ngaliya (PC) *we two (in same generation or in even ones)* [ngali + -ya EXCLUSIVENESS SUFFIX]

ngaliyampurru- (PP) *see ngaliyauu* [ngaliya + -mpurru]

ngaliyauu, obl. stem (except for loc., abl. and inst.) ngaliyampurru- (PP) *several of us (in the same generation or in even ones)* [ngaliya + -uu]

ngaluwany (NC) *water chestnut* [ngalu- (< ngarlu [2] + -ka or -pa (S) + -ny (2)]

ngamarla (NC) *magic mirror*

ngamarlangu (NC) *allegedly cave* (see Text 76, paragraph 3, sentence 16; paragraph 4, sentence 6)

ngamarri (NC) *liver* [ngama- (= Ny *breast*) + -rri (1)]

ngamayî (NC) *tobacco* [cf. Nm, Pn, WD, Nr ngamari; see also preceding entry]

Ngampiku (NP) *app. borr. 1. Wittenoom Gorge 2. Wittenoom* [< Pn]

ngana (PP) 1. *who* 2. *someone, anyone* [cf. ngani]

ngangany (NC) *fontenelle*

nganka (NC) *mother* [also Nm, but cf. Pn, N1 ngarti]

ngangkaanyu (NC) *thumb, big toe* [ngangka + -ri + (-ny [2] +) -nyu (S2), cf. Nm ngangkariny (and see Yi muwarrangu), Nr ngangkarn]

ngangku (NC) *var. = ngangkungu*

ngangkungu (NC) *old boomer kangaroo* [ngangku + -ngu (1c)]

nganhtharla (NC) *very husky, overweight* [nganhtha- (< nganytya-) + -rla]

ngani (PC) 1. *what* 2. *something, anything* [< PPN \*ngaani]

nganiaa (PC) 1. *like what* 2. *how much* [ngani (1) + -kaa]

nganima- (VL) *do what, e.g. nyinta ----- + -ku (walaaku): what are you doing (with that [OBJ])* [ngani (1) + -ma-]

nganimalu (PC) *what quantity: 1. how many 2. less com. how much* [ngani (1) + -malu]

nganingka (PC) *what for* (see wiyanu) [ngani (1) + -ngka (1)]

nganinyaa (PC) *what for (what goes here)* [ngani (1) + -nyaa (1)]

nganiwarnaaî (PC) *why* [nganiwarni- (1) + -aayî + ...V-]

nganiwarni- (VØ) 1. *what happen* 2. *what be the matter, e.g. ----- + -nha nyinta: what's wrong with you (NOM)?* 3. *bother, e.g. ----- nganangu: do something to someone (OBJ)* [ngani + -warni-]

nganiwarninha (PI) *var. = nganiwarnaaî* [nganiwarni- (1) + -nha (2)]

nganiwayî (PI) ----- *yurra: what time is it?* [ngani (1) + -pa (C2) + -yî (C2), cf. Nm nhalapa (nhala *what*)]

nganiwuntharri (PC) *what for (what purpose)* [ngani (1) + -puntharri (1)]

nganiwurtu (PI) *what kind, sort or type* [ngani (1) + -purtu]

nganiyarnrtu (PC) *what for (belonging to what)* [ngani (1) + -ty- + -arnrtu]

Ngantularnu (NP) *dingo increase site*

- nganytya- (NC) *eat* [cf. WD ngan[y]tyarla *tongue*, PPM \*nganytyar, see also Yi ngarrku-]
- nganytyali (NC) *prohibited food* [nganytya- + -li (1), but also cf. WD man[y]tyall *food*]
- ngaranti (NC) *any kind of duck but esp. the mountain duck*
- ngariwi (NC) *tropical reed, little bamboo* [cf. -pi (1)]
- ngarka (NC) ----- nhau-: *watch out of the corner of the eye*
- ngarku (NC) *wild onion* [cf. Nm ngarlku]
- Ngarla (NC) *Ngarla (coastal dwellers)* [see Ngarluma]
- ngarli (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER
- ngarlingka (NC) *downwind* [cf. -ngka (1)]
- ngarlirr (NC) *tang on the point of a kurriyarta*
- ngarlu (NC) 1a. *belly* 1b. *stomach, innards* 2. *surface of a liquid*
- ngarlu (NP) *flagon (of wine)* [< NC]
- Ngarluma (NC) *Ngarluma (people who dwell on the coast)* [ngarlu (NC2) + -ma (1)]
- ngarlupurpaamaya (NC) *bottle shop, carry-out liquor store* [ngarlu (NC1,NP) + purpaa (1) + maya]
- ngarlura (NC) 1. *overflowing* 2. *overfilled, i.e. filled right to the very brim* [ngarlu (NC2) + -ra (1b)]
- ngarn- (NC) *hang*
- ngarni- (VN) *knock away, deflect*
- ngarnka (NC) *sky* [ngarn- + -ka, cf. Nm beard]
- ngarnkanyungu (NC) 1. *bird* 2. *airplane* [ngarnka + -nyungu]
- ngarnkarra (NC) *flotsam or flood rubbish, esp. that found caught in tree branches* [ngarn- + -karra (1)]
- ngarnngarn (NC) *chin* [ngarn- + redup. -ngarn]
- ngarnrta (NC) 1. *sore, hurt* 2. *a sore, wound*
- ngarpin (NC) *cranny, cleft, chink*
- ngarra (NC) *view, scene* [see ngunhaangata]
- ngarra- (VR) *hit with a thrown object*
- ngarraa (NP) *var. = ngarraya* [< base form]
- Ngarrari (NC) *prob. borr. Mount Leopold* [< Ma]

ngarraurlu (NC) pangkarri- -----: *go for good, leave and not return*  
[ngarra + kurlu (2), cf. Nm ngarrapurlu]

ngarraya (NP) 1. *man's sister's daughter* 2. *man's son's wife*  
3. *wife's brother's daughter* [also Nm, N1]

ngarrayha- (VL) *respect lang.* = thaa-

ngarri (NC) *rare cooking ashes*

ngarri- (VØ) 1. *lie*, e.g. ----- + -ngumarnu: *lie down* 2. *be*  
[also Nm, WD]

ngarriirraa- (VR) *lay* [ngarri- (1) + -yirraa-]

ngarrimarri- (VØ) *lie together* [ngarri- (1) + -marri-]

ngarriwartaa- (VL) *cook in an earth oven, bake* [ngarriwartu + -ra  
(1b) + -ka-, cf. Nm ngarriwartulaka-]

ngarriwartu (NC) *earth oven* [ngarri + -partu (2)]

ngarriwunhtharri (NC) *bed* [ngarri- (1) + -punhtharri (2)]

ngarriyhu- (VL) = ngarriirraa- [ngarri- (1) + -yhu- (2)]

ngarrku- (VØ) *eat, feed on* [< pres. tense of the obs. form \*nga-  
(VL)]

ngarrkumarri- (VØ) *eat together* [ngarrku- + -marri-]

ngarrwanytya (NC) *giant dog belonging to the malungu* [cf. wanytya]

ngarta (NC) *side (as in beside, alongside)*

ngarta (I) *still, yet* [cf. Nm ngarrarn, Ny ngarrany]

ngartamarri (NC) *side-by-side* [ngarta (NC) + -marri]

ngartangka (NC) *beside, alongside of, next to* [ngarta (NC) +  
-ngka (1)]

ngartanungu (NC) *mottled honey* [cf. tyinytyanungu]

ngartanyungu (NC) *kidney* [ngarta (NC) + -nyungu, cf. Nm  
ngartanyingu]

ngartarla (NC) *hollow like a pipe or reed* [ngarta- (= WD marta) +  
-rla]

ngartawirri (NC) *long-neck turtle (neck retracts to the side)*  
[ngarta (NC) + -pirri (S1), cf. Nm ngartapirri]

ngarti (NC) *then, next*

ngartimu (I) *again, once more* [ngarti + -mu (2a)]

ngartiyaamu (I) *then apparently* (see wirruulamu) [ngarti + -yaa (1)  
+ -mu (2b), cf. next entry]



- ngartiyaawayhu (I) *then apparently* (see wirruulawayhu) [ngarti + -yaa (1) + -pa (C2) + -yhu (2b), cf. preceding entry]
- ngarurr (NC) *clawing*
- ngarurra- (VR) *claw* [ngarurr + -rra-, cf. Nm ngarurrtya- (VL)]
- ngatha- (NC) *root*
- ngatha- (VL) *have sexual intercourse with* [cf. Nm ngalha-, ngalla-]
- ngatharri- (VØ) *be having sexual intercourse* [ngatha- (NC,VL) + -rri-]
- ngatya (NC) 1. *app. marsupial mole* 2. *bnd. form help* [1. < app. ngatha- (NC)]
- ngatyarr (NC) *doctor's spirit helper* [ngatya- + -rr (2)]
- ngatyaarra (NC) *helpful, not lazy* [ngatya- + -karra (1)]
- ngatyi (NC) *neck* [cf. Nm, Pn ngalli]
- ngau (NC) *yes!* [cf. ngaa, -u]
- ngawa- (NC) *nothing in the head*
- ngawarra (NC) *unthinking, unmindful, unknowing* [ngawa- + -rra (S1)]
- ngawarrari- (VØ) *forget* [ngawarra + -ri-]
- ngawaru (NC) *boy about fifteen or sixteen years of age ready to be initiated* [ngawa- + -ru]
- ngawirta (NC) *lost* [ngawi- (app. < ngawa-) + -rta (1)]
- ngawirtama- (VL) *lose* [ngawirta + -ma-]
- ngawirtarri- (VØ) 1. *get lost* 2. *var. = ngawirtama-* [ngawirta + -rri-]
- ngawu- (NC) *small, round and wet (like a raindrop)* [cf. WD ngapa water]
- ngawunhthurr (NC) *miniature rock melon* [ngawu- + -nhthu + -rr (1), cf. Nm ngapunhthurr]
- ngawurr (NC) *bubble, foam* [ngawu- + -rr (1), cf. Nm ngapurrr]
- ngawurrarllaa (NC) *beer* [ngawurr + -karllaa]
- ngawurtan (NC) *miniature cucumber* [ngawu- + -rta (1) + -n, cf. Nm ngapurtan and also Yi thumpurtan]
- ngawurtarri (NC) *hailstorm* [ngawu- + -rta (1) + -rri (2), ngawu- + -rtarri, cf. Nm ngapurtarri]
- ngayala (NP) 1. *man's sister's son* 2. *man's daughter's husband* 3. *wife's brother's son* [cf. Nm, N1 ngatyala]

- ngayarnrtu (PC) *prob. borr. = ngaarnrtu* [< Ku (= Yi nga- + -ty- + -arnrtu)]
- ngayha- (P) = nga- [nga- + -yha-, cf. Pn, Pl ngatha I, see also Yi nyinta]
- ngayhala (PC) *in proximity to me* [ngayha- + -la (1)]
- ngayhalangu (PC) *from me* [ngayhala + -ngu (1a)]
- ngayhalu (PC) *by me* [ngayha- + -lu]
- Ngayhalyu (NP) *a greedy Marduthunira monster with a tail* [cf. Ma Ngayhalyuyurru, see also next entry]
- ngayhantangu (NC) *mill slab, metate*
- ngayharnrtu (PC) *rare var. = ngaarnrtu* [nga- + -th- + -arnrtu]
- ngayhi- (VØ) *cry* [cf. Ma ngayi-; Nm, Pn ngaty-; Ng ngaty-; Nl ngatyukarri-]
- ngayi (P) I [< PPN \*ngayu (= Yi nga- + -y! [C3])]
- ngayi- (VN) 1a. *throw, chuck or toss (away)* 1b. ----- kaartuu: *let out a shout* (OBJ) 2a. *tip, dump* 2b. ----- mangkurlau: *give birth to a child* (OBJ) [< PPN \*ngaaty-]
- ngayinhtharri (PC) *several of us (at least one of which is in an adjacent or odd generation)* [ngayi + -nhtharri]
- ngayinuwarra (NC) 1. *mother and child* 2. *female kangaroo with joey* [ngayi- (2b) + -nu (2) + -karra (2)]
- ngayiny (NC) 1. *breath* 2. *coll. spirits, feelings*
- ngayinykarri- (VØ) *breathe, e.g. ngaarta ----- + -Ø wirrwingka: men breathe air* (LOC) [ngayiny (1) + -karri-, cf. Nm ngayinyma- (VØ)]
- ngayu (PC) *me, to me, for me* [< PPN \*ngatyu (= Yi nga- + -yu [S2])]
- ngayuurraa (PC) *in my direction* [ngayu + -purraa]
- ngayuwari (PC) *with me* [ngayu + -pari]
- ngayuwarta (PC) 1. *we two (in adjacent or odd generations)* 2. *directly toward me* [ngayu + -parta, cf. Pn ngatyuparta; ngayu + -karta]
- ngka (S) 1. LOCATIVE CASE MARKER 2. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX [1. < PPN]
- ngku (S) 1. INSTRUMENTAL CASE MARKER 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER 3. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX [1. < PPN]
- ngu- (P) THIRD PERSON DISTANT
- ngu (S) 1a. ABLATIVE CASE MARKER 1b. OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER 1c. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [cf. Nm -nguru ABLATIVE CASE MARKER AND IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER]
- ngula (PC) 1. *in proximity to him, her or it* 2. *in proximity to that* 3. *there* [ngu- + -la (1)]

- ngulaa- (PR) see ngunhaa [ngula + -ra (1a)]
- ngulangka (PC) not com. var. = ngula [ngula + -ngka (1)]
- ngulangu (PC) 1. *from him, her or it* 2. *from that* 3. *from there*  
[ngula + -ngu (1a)]
- nguli- (VØ) 1. INCHOATIVE VERBALISER 2. PASSIVISER [also Ku, cf.  
Nm -ngalli-]
- ngulu (PC) 1. *by him, her or it* 2. *by that, with that* [ngu- + -lu]
- ngulungku (PC) not com. var. = ngulu [ngulu + -ngku (1)]
- ngumarnu (S) PROGRESSIVE ASPECT MARKER [-ngu (2) + -ma- + -rnu (2)]
- nguna (NC) *armpit* [cf. Nm ngunamarra]
- ngungku- (NC) *strength* [cf. WD nungku *strong*]
- ngungkumarnrta (NC) 1. *strong* 2. *heavy* [ngungku- + -marnrta  
(*< -marta* [NC], see yamarti)]
- ngungkuwarrimarta (NC) *weak* [ngungku- + -parrimarta]
- ngunhaa, obl. stems (in loc., abl. and inst.) ngulaa-, (otherwise)  
ngurna- (PR) 1. *he, she, it* 2. *that* [ngunhu + -ra (1a), cf. nhaa]
- ngunhaakuyha (PC) var. = ngurnaakuyha [ngunhaa + -kuyha]
- ngunhaana (PI) *that one* [ngunhaa (2) + -na (1)]
- ngunhaangata (NC) *rare that position* [ngunhaa (2) + -ngata  
(*> ngarra*)]
- ngunhaangatangu (NC) *rare from that position* [ngunhaangata +  
-ngu (1a)]
- ngunhaangkaa- (P) 1. *they* 2. *those several distant* [ngunhaangku +  
-ra (1a), cf. nhungkaa-]
- ngunhaangkaana (PI) *those several distant ones* [ngunhaangkaa- (2)  
+ -na (1)]
- ngunhaangkaat (PC) *those several distant ones* [ngunhaangkaa- (2)  
+ -t (2)]
- ngunhaangkaatu (PI) *those several distant ones* [ngunhaangkaa- (2)  
+ -tu (C)]
- ngunhaangkaatyirri (PC) 1. *they* 2. *those several distant*  
[ngunhaangkaa- + -tyirri (2)]
- ngunhaangkiirri (PC) 1. *they* 2. *those several distant* [ngunhaangku +  
-tyirri (2), cf. nhungkiirri]
- ngunhaangku (PI) 1. *they* 2. *those several distant* [ngunhaa +  
-ngku (2)]
- ngunhaarrumpa (PI) = ngunhaatumpa [*< base form*]

- ngunhaat (PC) *that one* [ngunhaa (2) + -t (2)]
- ngunhaatu (PI) *that one, that's it* [ngunhaa (2) + -tu (C)]
- ngunhaatumpa (PI) *that's the one I'm talking about* [ngunhaatu + -mpa]
- ngunhthaa (P) *that place* [ngunhthi + -ra (1a)]
- ngunhthaana (PI) 1. *that place* 2. *that one* [ngunhthaa + -na (1)]
- ngunhthi (PC) *way over there, very distant* [ngu- + -nhthi]
- ngunhthingu (PC) *from that direction* [ngunhthi + -ngu (1a)]
- ngunhthirni (PC) *from that direction (with on-going motion)*  
[ngunhthi + -rni (1)]
- ngunhthirningu (PC) *from that direction (with completed motion)*  
[ngunhthirni + -ngu (1a)]
- ngunhthiurru (PC) *in that direction* [ngunhthi + -kurru]
- ngunhthiuyu (NC) *rare var. = ngunhthuuyu* [ngunhthi + kuyu (NC)]
- ngunhthuuyu (NC) *other side, opposite side, that side* [< ngunhthiuyu]
- ngunhu (P) 1. *he, she, it* 2. *that* [ngu- + -nhu (1)]
- ngunhungaala (NC) *on account of that* [ngunhu (2) + -ngaala]
- ngunhungkaa- (P) 1. *they* 2. *those several distant* [ngunhungku + -ra (1a), cf. *nhungkaa-*]
- ngunhungkaana (PI) *those several distant ones* [ngunhungkaa- (2) + -na (1)]
- ngunhungkaat (PC) *those several distant ones* [ngunhungkaa- (2) + -t (2)]
- ngunhungkaatu (PI) *those several distant ones* [ngunhungkaa- (2) + -tu (C)]
- ngunhungkaatyirri (PC) 1. *they* 2. *those several distant*  
[ngunhungkaa- + -tyirri (2)]
- ngunhungkiirri (PC) 1. *they* 2. *those several distant* [ngunhungku + -tyirri (2), cf. *nhungkiirri*]
- ngunhungku (PI) 1. *they* 2. *those several distant* [ngunhu + -ngku (2)]
- ngunhungu (PC) *to there* [ngunhu (2) + -ngu (1b)]
- ngunhunguwarda (PC) = *ngunhungu* [ngunhungu + -karta]
- ngunhuuyha (PC) *var. = ngurnuuyha* [ngunhu + -kuyha]
- ngunta (NC) *corroboree*
- nguntamarri- (VØ) *dance together* [ngunta + -marri-]

nguntatypa (NC) *able to dance well in a certain manner so as to avoid getting struck during a trial by spear* [ngunta + -ty + -pa (S)]

nguntawarni- (VØ) *dance* [ngunta + -warni-]

ngunya (NC) *sperm* [also Ku, but cf. Nm ngunha]

ngura (NC) *sneak*, e.g. ----- pangkarri- (nganii): *sneak up (on something [OBJ])*

ngurama- (VL) *sneak*, e.g. ----- nganii: *sneak up on something* (OBJ) [ngura + -ma-]

nguri (NC) *circle* [see kuriwaartarri-]

Ngurin (NC) *Harding River*

Ngurlungka (NP) *Old Cooya Pooya Station*

ngurnaa- (PR) see ngunhaa [ngurnu + -ra (1a)]

ngurnaakuyha (PC) 1. *they (in the same generation or in even ones)*  
2. *those two distant* [ngurnaa- + -kuyha]

ngurnaapi (PC) 1. *they (in adjacent or odd generations)* 2. *those two distant* [ngurnaa- + -pi (2)]

ngurni (I) *at the same time, simultaneously*

ngurnrtirri (NC) *putt-putt*

ngurnrtirriwima- (VL) ----- murtimaau: *start a motor vehicle* (OBJ) [ngurnrtirri + -pima-]

ngurnu (PC) 1. *(to or for) him, her or it* 2. *(to or for) that* [ngu- + -rnu (1a)]

ngurnuurraa (PC) 1. *in his, her or its direction* 2. *approximately toward that* [ngurnu + -purraa]

ngurnuuyha (PC) 1. *they (in the same generation or in even ones)*  
2. *those two distant* [ngurnu + -kuyha]

ngurnuwari (PC) 1. *with him, her or it* 2. *with that* [ngurnu + -pari]

ngurnuwarta (PC) 1. *directly toward him, her or it* 2. *directly toward that* [ngurnu + -karta]

ngurnuwi (PC) 1. *they (in adjacent or odd generations)* 2. *those two distant* [ngurnu + -pi (2)]

ngurnuyarnrtu (PC) 1. *his, her(s), its* 2. *of that* [ngurnu + -ty- + -arnrtu]

ngurra (NC) 1. *earth, land, ground* 2. *country, territory*  
3. *place, area* 4. *dwelling place*: 4a. *home* 4b. *camp* 4c. *village*

ngurramurnrtu (NC) pangkarri- -----: *go camping* [cf. ngurra (4b)]

ngurrangarnrta (NC) *place where a person has died* [ngurra (3) + ngarnrta (1)]

ngurranyu (NC) *wife* [ngurra (1a) + -nyu (S1)]

ngurranyutyungkamu (I) *at the beginning of the world, during the dreamtime, lit. back when the earth was soft* [ngurra (1) + nyutyu- + -ngka (1) + -mu (3a)]

ngurrawarnrturala (NC) pangkarri- -----: *go on walkabout or tour* [ngurra (2,3) + warnrtura + -la (1)]

ngurrinhtha (NC) *rare var. = ngurrinytya* [< base form]

ngurriny (NC) 1. *rolled-up* 2. *swag, roll*

ngurrinyma- (VL) *roll up* [ngurriny (1) + -ma-]

ngurrinytya (NC) *in proximity to the swag* [ngurriny + -ia (1)]

ngurru (NC) *glad, happy*

ngurrungurraa (NC) *wasp* [ngurru- + redup. -ngurru + -ra (1a), cf. Nm ngurrungurrura]

ngurruwarni- (VØ) *become happy, rejoice, smile* [ngurru + -warni-]

ngurtu (NC) *diarrhoea*

ngurtuwarri- (VØ) *have diarrhoea* [ngurtu + -karri-]

nguthinu (NC) *joey (baby kangaroo)*

nguthurr (NC) *snore, snoring*

nguthurrari- (VØ) *snore* [nguthurr + -rrari-, cf. Nm ngunhthurruma- (VØ) (see nguurraarri-)]

nguurr (NC) *snarl, snort, grunt* [see next entry]

nguurraarri- (VØ) *snarl, snort, grunt* [nguurr + -rru (1) + -rarri-, cf. Nm ngu[w]urrama- (VØ) and see also Yi nguthurrari-]

nguurraralaa (NC) *pig* [nguurr + -karalaa]

nguwarn (NC) *variety of tree which produces edible black seeds*

nha- (VØ) see nhau- (VØ)

-nha (C) 1a. PROPER-NOUN CLASSIFIER 1b. *one, thing, person*  
2. PAST TENSE MARKER [< PPN -\*nya ACCUSATIVE CASE MARKER (for \*nga- [> Yi]) and PAST TENSE MARKER]

nhaa (P) 1. *he, she, it* 2. *this* [nhu- + -ra (1a)]

nhana (PI) *this one* [nhaa (2) + -na (1)]

nhaarrumpa (PI) = nhaatumpa [< base form]

nhaatpa (PI) *this one!* [nhaa (2) + -t (2) + -pa (C1)]

nhaatumpa (PI) *this is the one I'm talking about* [nhaa (2) + -tu (C) + -mpa]

- nhaawarni- (VØ) *this be it* [nhaa (2) + -warni-]
- nhakatyī (NC) *term for a spouse in the wrong section* [cf. Nm, WD nyakatyī, see also Yi thamii]
- nhanga (NC) *uvular appendage*
- Nhangumarta (NC) *Nyangumarda*
- nhanka (NC) *nape (back of the neck)* [cf. Pl, Wa nyanka]
- Nhankangu (NP) *Deep Reach Pool* [see preceding entry]
- nhankarra (NC) *ceremonial guard for the pirtarra (holds a club across back of neck)* [nhanka + -ra (1) + -rra (Sl)]
- nhanki (NC) *glans penis (penis head)*
- nhanti (NC) *husband*
- nhantima- (VL) *circumcise* [nhanti + -ma-]
- nhartin (NC) *paperbark tray*
- nhau- (NC) 1. *see, look* 2. *watch* [< obs. pres. tense of nha-]
- nhau-, usual imp. stem nha-, inf., prf. and usual pot. and irr. stem nhawa- (see section 3.1.4.1 in Grammar for paradigm) (VØ) 1. *see, look* 2. *watch* 3. *check* [< nhau- (NC), cf. Nm nhaku- (VØ)]
- nhaumarri- (VØ) *look at each other, see each other* [nhau- (NC1) + -marri-]
- nhaungarra (NC) *look out, watch out* [nhau- (NC) + ngarra]
- nhaungarra- (VR) *look after, watch over, baby-sit with* [< nhaungarra (NC), cf. Nm nhakungarrama- (VL)]
- nhawa- (VØ) *see* nhau- (VØ) [< PPN \*nyawa-]
- nhtharri (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [< -ny (2) + -tyarri, cf. Ny -nytyarri, Tl -(ny)tyarri, see also Yi -nytyarri-]
- nhthi (S) EXTREME LOCATIVE CASE MARKER
- nhthu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- nhu- (P) THIRD PERSON NEAR
- nhu (S) 1. NOMINATIVE CASE MARKER 2. poss. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX (see section 3.2.1.2 in the Grammar)
- nhuka (NC) 1. *forbidden to touch (touch-tabooed)* 2. *borr. ape-man* [< Ma]
- nhula (PC) 1. *in proximity to him, her or it* 2. *in proximity to this* 3. *here* [nhu- + -la (1)]
- nhulangka (PC) *not com. var. = nhula* [nhula + -ngka (1)]
- nhulangu (PC) 1. *from him, her or it* 2. *from this* 3. *from here* [nhula + -ngu (la)]

- nhulu (PC) 1. *by him, her or it* 2. *by this, with this*  
[nhu- + -lu]
- nhulungku (PC) *not com. var.* = nhulu [nhulu + -ngku (1)]
- nhungkaa- (P) 1. *they* 2. *these several* [nhungku + -ra (1a),  
cf. walaa-]
- nhungkaana (PI) *these several ones* [nhungkaa- (2) + -na (1)]
- nhungkaat (PC) *these several ones* [nhungkaa- (2) + -t (2)]
- nhungkaatu (PI) *these several ones* [nhungkaa- (2) + -tu (C)]
- nhungkaatyirri (PC) 1. *they* 2. *these several* [nhungkaa- +  
-tyirri (2)]
- nhungkiirri (PC) 1. *they* 2. *these several* [nhungku + -tyirri (2),  
see walaa-, nhulangka]
- nhungku (PI) 1. *they* 2. *these several* [nhu- + -ngku (2)]
- nhungu (PP) *position immediately adjacent to the speaker*  
[nhu- (2) + -ngu (1a)]
- nhunhthaa (PI) *this place* [nhunhthi + -ra (1a)]
- nhurnu (PC) 1. *(to or for) him, her or it* 2. *(to or for) this*  
[nhu- + -rnu (1a)]
- nhurnuurraa (PC) 1. *in his, her or its direction* 2. *approximately  
toward this* [nhurnu + -purraa]
- nhurnuuyha (PC) 1. *they (in the same generation or in even ones)*  
2. *these two* [nhurnu + -kuyha]
- nhurnuwari (PC) 1. *with him, her or it* 2. *with this* [nhurnu +  
-pari]
- nhurnuwarta (PC) 1. *directly toward him, her or it* 2. *directly  
toward this* [nhurnu + -karta]
- nhurnuwi (PC) 1. *they (in adjacent or odd generations)* 2. *these  
two* [nhurnu + -pi (2)]
- nhurnuyarnrtu (PC) 1. *his, her(s), its* 2. *of this* [nhurnu + -ty-  
+ -arnrtu]
- nhuurka (NC) *ankle* [nhuu- (= Ku, cf. Pl nhuku) + -r- + -ka, cf. Ku  
nhuurtka, Nm nhukurlka, also note Ka nyukuru *elbow*]
- nhuwa (NC) 1. *daughter of a man's mother's brother or of a man's  
father's sister* 2. *son of a woman's mother's brother or of a  
woman's father's sister* [cf. Nm, Nl, WD nyupa]
- Nhuwala (NC) *Nuwala*
- ni (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- nma (S) IMPERATIVE MOOD MARKER [-n + -ma (2), also Ku and Nm]



- nmarri- (VØ) RECIPROCAL VERBALISER [-n + -marri-, also Nm]
- nmarta (S) 1. HABITUAL ASPECT MARKER 2. AGENT SUFFIX [-n + -marta (2)]
- nnyaa (S) PASSIVE OPTATIVE MOOD MARKER [-n + -nyaa (2)]
- npuntharri (S) PURPOSIVE SUFFIX: *something to \_\_\_\_\_ with* [-n + -puntharri (2), cf. Nm -lpuntharri]
- nta (C) INTERROGATIVE CLITIC: 1. QUESTION MARKER 2. *whether* [also Ku, WD; see Yi -rra (C)]
- nu (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX, *-ing*, *-ed* 2. IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [cf. WD (app. = Yi -kaayi)]
- numarnu (S) PROGRESSIVE ASPECT MARKER [-nu (2) + -ma- + -rnu (2)]
- ny (S) 1. INCEPTIVE SUFFIX 2. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- nya (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- nyaa (S) 1. ALLOCATIVE SUFFIX: *\_\_\_\_\_ goes here* 2. PASSIVE OPTATIVE MOOD MARKER [-nyu (S1) + -ra (1b), cf. Nm -nyura]
- Nyaarrimarra (NP) *name of the emu-man who owned Thuthurti* [cf. Purlinytyirrmarra]
- Nyamat (NC) *Nyamal* [cf. N1 Nyamal]
- nyamina (NC) *borr. dugong* [< Nm, Ma]
- nyampali (NC) *alleged borr. (see maatha) boss, chief* [< Nm]
- nyankarturtu (NC) *man's kilt*
- nyanti (NC) *brow (ridge and hair)* [also Ku]
- nyarna (NC) *kind of soft chalky stone used for white paint*
- nyarni (NC) 1. *slow* 2. ----- *yankarr: soft sound*
- nyarranyarra (NC) *app. borr. store bread* [cf. Tr vegetable food, N1 nyarra mouth]
- nyarrawirtu (NC) *small insect-eating bat found in caves* [cf. puyawirtu and see preceding entry]
- nyarri (NC) *rim* [cf. Nm eyelid]
- nyarrimanhthu (NC) *eyelash* [nyarri + -ma (1) + -nhthu]
- nyarringkamu (I) *overflowing* [nyarri + -ngka (1) + -mu (3b)]
- nyartu (NC) *emu feather*
- nyatyu (NC) *pubic hair* [cf. Nm nyallu]
- nyau (NC) *boo!* (call made by a parri) [cf. pau]
- nyawaru (NC) *namesake* (e.g., see Wartayi)

nyiinnyiin (NC) 1. *ringing in the ears which is produced by a parri and makes a person witless* 2. *sickness caused by the noise*  
[as if nyiin- + redup. -nyiin, but see also nyimayi]

nyila (NC) *respect lang.* = pawa

nyilaarti (NC) *native mead (honey and water spiced with lemon grass)*  
[nyila + -ka or -ra (1a) + -rti, note also Nm -karti (= Yi -karta)]

nyilinyili (NC) *rare var.* = nyilinyilingka [nyili- + redup. -nyili  
(app. bird's call), see nyimayi and kapakapa (2)]

nyilinyilingka (NC) *(welcome) swallow* [nyilinyili + -ngka (2)]

nyimayi (NC) *zebra finch* [nyi- (its call, cf. Ny) + -ma (1) + -ri,  
cf. Nm nyimari, WD nyilnyi]

Nyimila (NP) *Eric Miller*

nyimpa- (VØ) 1. *react, give a start* 2. *thurla -----: wink, blink*  
[cf. Nm nyimpa-]

nyimpayirraa- (VR) *startle* [nyimpa- (1) + -yirraa-]

nyin- (P) SECOND PERSON [< PPN \*nyun-]

nyinarri (NC) *emuberry (vine producing small round bright red berries)*

nyinkaarnrtu (PC) *your(s)* [nyinku + -arnrtu]

nyinku (PC) *(to or for) you* [nyin- + -ku (C1)]

nyinkupurru- (PP) *see nyintauu* [nyinku + -mpurru, see kantipi]

nyinkuurraa (PC) *in your direction* [nyinku + -purraa]

nyinkuwari (PC) *with you* [nyinku + -pari]

nyinkuwarta (PC) *directly toward you* [nyinku + -karta]

nyinkuwi (PC) *you two (in adjacent or odd generations)* [nyinku +  
-pi (2)]

nyinkuyarnrtu (PC) *rare var.* = nyinkaarnrtu [nyinku + -ty- +  
-arnrtu, see ngurnuyarnrtu]

nyinta (P) *you* [nyin- + -la (3)]

nyintala (PC) *in proximity to you* [nyinta + -la (1)]

nyintalangu (PC) *from you* [nyintala + -ngu (1a)]

nyintalu (PC) *by you* [nyinta + -lu]

nyintauu, obl. stem (expect for loc., abl. and inst.) *nyinkupurru-*  
(PP) *several of you* [nyinta + -uu]

nyintaunya (PC) *you two (in the same generation or in even ones)*  
[nyinta + -kuyha]

- nyintawarni- (VØ) *it be you* [nyinta + -warni-]
- nyintayi (PI) *hey you!* [nyinta + -yi (S1)]
- nyirlarli (NC) *overly noisy, lot of loud noise such as one would expect to find at a wild party*
- nyirlun (NC) *navel, belly button*
- nyirrirri (NC) *conductor or master of ceremonies for a corroboree, songman* (Aboriginal English)
- nyirnrtil (NC) *waist*
- nyirra- (VØ) 1. *get covered, cover oneself* (see thartarri-)  
2. *get painted, paint oneself*
- nyirra- (VR) 1. *cover* 2. *paint*
- nyirri (NC) *a shrub, the leafy boughs of which are used to decorate headbands and armstrings for the purnrtut*
- nyirrkurn (NC) *hiccup*
- nyirrkurnrtaarri- (VØ) *hiccup* [nyirrkurn + -la (1) + -karri-]
- nyirti (NC) 1a. *father's sister* 1b. *mother's brother's wife*  
1c. *spouse's mother* 2. *term of address for a woman's brother's child*
- nyirtingu (NP) *last one of a series, e.g. mara -----: little finger, mangkurla -----: youngest child*
- nyitpingka (NC) *on one hip* [cf. -ngka (1) and Nm nyilpingka, see also Yi tharnangka]
- nytyarri- (VØ) RECIPROCAL VERBALISER [< -ny (2) + -tyarri, see -marri-]
- nyu (S) 1. *rare var. = -nyungu* 2. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- nyu (C) TRUTH CLITIC: *actually, indeed, truly, really* [cf. WD]
- nyungu (S) *dweller* [-nyu (S1) + -ngu (1c), also T1 and Tr, cf. Nm -nyingu, Ku app. -nyuwa]
- nyurni (NC) *joke*
- nyurnima- (VL) *joke, tell a joke* [nyurni + -ma-]
- nyurnrta (NC) *recently initiated, novice initiate* [see next entry]
- nyurnrti (NC) *dead* [also Nm]
- nyurnrtima- (VL) *kill* [nyurnrti + -ma-, cf. Nm nyurnrtika-]
- nyurnrtiwarni- (VØ) *die* [nyurnrti + -warni-, also Nm]
- nyurnrtiyarnrtu (NC) *loan trans. for dead, e.g. pangkarri- -----: go at top speed* (see Text 61, sentence 6) [nyurnrti + -ty- + -arnrtu]

nyurru (NC) 1. *nasal mucus, snot* 2. *a cold*

nyurruwirti (NC) *snotty* [nyurru (1) + -pirti (1)]

nyurtun (NC) *girl about two years old* (see thuku) [also Nm]

nyutyu (NC) 1. *karnku lang. = nyurnrta* 2. *bnd. form soft* [cf. Nm, Pn nyullu *soft*]

nyutyuma- (VL) *initiate* [nyutyu + -ma-]

nyutyuwirri (NC) *soft* [nyutyu- + -pirri (S1), also Ku]

nyutyuwirriri- (VØ) *get soft* [nyutyuwirri + -ri-]

# Ø

-Ø (C) PRESENT TENSE MARKER

-Ø-(S) var. = -t (1,3)

# P

-pa (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-pa (C) EMPHATIC CLITIC: 1. *emphatically, definitely, certainly*  
2. *-time* 3a. *start to* 3b. *mirta + -----: cease to* [also Ku and Nm]

paa- (VØ) 1. *get torn* 2. *get broken* [cf. Nm, Pn paka-]

paa- (VL) 1. *bite* 2. *sting* [< PPN \*patya-, but note Nm, N1  
patya- *eat* < PPN \*paatya-]

paarnpaarn (NC) *simple-minded, not all there, half-wit* [paarn-  
+ redup. -paarn]

paat (NC) *borr. but* [< Eng]

pakit (NC) *borr.* 1. *bucket* 2. *pocket* [< Eng]

-pala (S) *borr.* BORROWED-ADJECTIVE SUFFIX [< pidgin Eng < Eng fellow]

palamu (I) 1. *long ago, a long time ago, sometime ago, a while back*  
2. *previously, formerly* 3. *already, yet* [pa- (NP) + -la (1) +  
-mu (3a), cf. Nm palalli]

palamumu (I) *long long ago, a long long time ago, once upon a time*  
[palamu (1) + -mu (2b), cf. Nm palallilili]

paliirri (NC) *blue-tongue lizard* [pali- *dark-coloured* + -tyirri  
(NC, S1), cf. Ku paliyhu- (= Yi warruma-)]

palin (NC) *mirage* (see Text 23)

palinnguli- (VØ) *ngurra ----- + -Ø: a mirage is appearing on the*  
*landscape* (NOM) [palin + -nguli- (1)]

- palyirri (NC) *hill kangaroo* wuungu [< \*palyarri (see wirtirri-)  
< \*paltyarri (= Nm) > pattyarri (which see), see also  
pattyarringu]
- pama- (VL) *get going, take off, leave* [cf. pangkarri-]
- pampa, obj. -yi, abl. -ngu (N) *sleep*, e.g. ----- ngarri-: *sleep*
- pampaa- (VL) *test, try* (see Text 77, paragraph 1, sentence 5)
- pampanguli- (VØ) *get sleepy* [pampa + -nguli- (1), cf. Nm  
pampangali-]
- pampangurru (NC) *sleepy* [pampa + -ngu (1b,c) + -rru (1)]
- Pampanyaa (NC) 1. *Sunday* 2. *1.c. week* [pampa + -nyaa (1)]
- panaa (NC) var. = panaka [< base form]
- panaka (NC) *bungarra* wuungu [cf. parnka]
- pangkarri- (VØ) 1. *go* 2. *tyina* -----: *walk, go on foot* [pa- (NC)  
+ -ngka (1) + -rrl-, cf. kanangkarri-]
- pangkuna (NC) *large wheel-shaped ceremonial headdress*
- panhtharra (NC) *jealous*
- panhthawayi (NC) *perentie, giant goanna* [panhtha- (= Nm *hump, mound*)  
+ -payi]
- panhthu- (VL) 1. *touch* 2. *feel*
- panhthurr (NC) *someone who can't keep his hands to himself*  
[panhthu- (1) + -rr (2)]
- pani- (VN) *grind* [Ny pani *seed*]
- pankirti (NC) app. *borr. a short throwing spear with a smooth  
untanged point* [< Pn]
- panngu (NC) *respect lang.* = muntl
- panta (NC) *shallow*
- Pantiyarra (NC) *falcon sacred site* [cf. Yantiyarra]
- Pantuwarnangka (NC) 1. *Pannawonica Hill (a tall slender spire)*  
2. *Pannawonica* [pantu- + warna- + -ngka (1), see also  
yirratharnangka]
- panyi- (VN) 1. *take a step* 2. ----- nganil: *step on something* (OBJ)
- Panytyima (NC) *Pandjima* [cf. Kurrama and panhthawayi (see punytyl)]
- papu (NP) 1. *father* 2. *loan trans., u.c. God the Father* [2. < Eng]
- papui (NP) 1. *woman's brother's child* 2. *woman's child's spouse*  
3. *husband's sister's child* [papu (1) + -tyl, cf. thamli]

para (NC) *borr. subincised (penis), whistlecock* (Aboriginal English) [*< Ku subincision*]

pararrtyi (NC) *borr. seagull* [*< Ma*]

-pari (S) COMITATIVE CASE MARKER [cf. Nm -warl, Tr PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX]

parkarra (NC) 1. *grassy plain* 2. *valley* [cf. Nm parkarra]

parkarranykaa (NC) *respect lang.* = paylwanarra [parkarra (1) + -ny (2) + -kaa]

parkarrawartuwartaa (NC) *bush lark* [parkarra (1) + -wartuwartaa (= Ku wartuwartaa, Nm wartuwartura)]

parku (NC) *hill*

parkunytyi (NC) *olive python, rock python* (local term) [parku + -ny (2) + -tyl, cf. Nm parkunytyi]

parla (NC) *hard dry mud*

parla (I) 1. *very*: 1a. ----- muntl: *very truly* 1b. ----- yawukurru: *much further downstream* 1c. ----- tyiwarra: *solid white* 2. *hard*: 2a. ----- wanpi-: *hit hard* 2b. ----- punhtha- (VØ): *scrub hard, wash completely, take a bath or shower* 2c. ----- maarta: *hard right* 3. *loud*: ----- yankarr: *loud noise* [cf. -parlu]

parli (NC) *bend, bent*

parliwarli (NC) *crooked, snakey* [parli + redup. -parli, cf. Nm parllparll]

parlu (NC) 1. *riverbank* 2. *cliff*

-parlu (C) INTENSIFIER: *very, (at) all* [cf. parla (I1)]

parnangarri (NC) *borr.* 1. *animal horn* 2. *coll. loan trans. erection* [1. < Nm (= Yi kilirr), 2. < Eng]

parni- (VØ) 1. *sit, e.g.* ----- + -ngumarnu: *sit down* 2. *cease moving, stop, stay, remain, dwell* 3. *be situated, be found* 4. *be, exist* [also Ku and Nm]

parniirraa- (VR) *set* [parni- (1) + -yirraa-]

parnimarri- (VØ) 1. *sit together* 2. *dwell together* [parni- (1,2) + -marri-]

parniny (NC) *starting to sit* [parni- (1) + -ny (1)]

parninyparniny (NC) *baby which has just learned to sit* [parniny + redup. -parniny]

parniwuntharri (NC) *chair* [parni- (1) + -punhtharri (2)]

parniyhu- (VL) = parniirraa- [parni- (1) + -yhu- (2)]

parnka (NC) *female bungarra* (Gould's sand goanna)

- parnnga (NC) *tree bark, esp. the smooth inner parts*
- parnparn (NC) *ring-neck parrot* [parn- + redup. -parn, see putput]
- parnrta- (VL) yuntu ----- + -ku (ngurrayi): *rain is falling (on the land [OBJ])*
- parnrtaa- (VR) *go boom, explode* [cf. -ra-]
- parnrjanya- (NC) *pertaining to the part of the body where the thigh joins the hip* [parnrta- (= WD groin) + -nya]
- parnrnyarpi- (NC) *relating to sitting cross-legged* [parnrjanya- + -r- + -pi (1)]
- parnrnyarpi- (NC) ----- parni-: *sit cross-legged* [parnrnyarpi- + -n]
- parnrnyarpirri- (VØ) *sit cross-legged* [parnrnyarpi- + -rri-]
- parnrnyat (NC) *part of the body where the thigh joins the hip* [parnrjanya- + -t (3), cf. Nm parnrngarti groin]
- parnrta- (VL) *borr. = parnrta- [ < Ku, see Yi kuwartayi-]*
- parnrta- (VN) *not com. find, discover* (see Text 71, paragraph 1, sentence 2) [cf. -yi- and also preceding entry]
- parnrta- (VØ) *give off an odor, smell*
- parnrta- (VN) *detect the odor of, sniff, smell*
- Parnrurrarna (NC) *Morning Star, Venus*
- parpa- (NC) *slapping or thumping noise* [cf. Nm parlpap]
- parpaa- (VL) *(cure by) massage* [parpa- + -ka-]
- parparr (NC) *sky* [cf. Nm, N1 parlparr]
- parparrnyungu (NC) 1. *bird* 2. *airplane* [parparr + -nyungu]
- parpawarpa (NC) *thumpety-thump, e.g. ----- pangkarri-: hop like a kangaroo* [parpa- + redup. -parpa]
- parpirriny (NC) *mountain wattle (tree)* [cf. Nm parlpirriny]
- parra (NC) 1. *ingestible leaf, esp. tea but also tobacco* (see Text 28, sentence 1) 2. *go on, go do it* 3. *bnd. form quiver* [cf. Nm parrk leaf, tea, WD tree needle]
- parraa (NC) 1a. *(for or after) a long time, (for or after) quite a while* 1b. tyampa -----: *(for or after) not too long a time* 2. *shoulder* [parru- (= Ku time) + -ra (1a), cf. Nm parrura long time, parrkara shoulder]
- parrarla (NC) *drum* [parra- + -rla]
- Parrarurru (NP) *Robert Churnside*
- parrattyarri- (VØ) *get stuck* [cf. -tyarri-]

- parrawarra (NC) *quivering, shivering* [parra- + redup. -parra, cf. WD patapata- (VL) *shake off*]
- parrawarrari- (VØ) *quiver, shiver* [parrawarra + -ri-]
- parrayi (NC) *go on! go do it!* [parra (2) + -yi (S1)]
- parri (NC) 1. *zombie (animate dead body), devil* (Aboriginal English) 2. *loan trans. Lucifer, the devil* [2. < Eng]
- parri- (S) *lacking* [cf. Pn, Pl -pati (= Yi -parrimarta), Nr pati *no!*]
- parrimarta (S) PRIVATIVE SUFFIX: *lacking, without* [-parri- + -marta (S1b)]
- parrimirnti (NC) *sea serpent, reptilian monster from the deeps* (see Text 75) [parri (1) + -mirnti (< mirri- [1]), cf. tyirliimirnti]
- parriri- (VØ) *run out of, lack* [-parri- + -ri-]
- Parrkapinya (NP) *borr. Whim Creek* [< Nm, see also Yi parra (1)]
- parrku (NC) *chunk of meat with no fat or bone, muscle* [also Ku, cf. Nm palku]
- parruu (NC) 1. *grinding stone, mano* 2. *kneecap* [cf. Nm parruru]
- parrwa- (VR) 1. *light, ignite* 2. *thathayi -----: tell a lie* [cf. WD parrpa *flame*, Ny *hot (weather)*, Pl parrpara]
- parta (S) DUAL NUMBER MARKER
- partaurru (NC) *beadwood (tree having black seeds with a red/orange dot which are used by children to make necklaces)* [cf. pitpakurru]
- partirri (NC) *large variety of kanytyi having a small leaf, prickly bush*
- partu (NC) *feather other than that of the emu*
- partu (S) 1. *dweller* 2. PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX [cf. Tl -wartu PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX]
- parturra (NC) *plain turkey, bustard* [partu + -rra (S1)]
- partuwankama- (VL) ----- nganangu: *revive someone (OBJ) whose head has been screwed using the feather of an eaglehawk* [partu + wankama-]
- partuwarlaa (NC) *bird* [partu + -karlaa]
- partuwarlaarri- (VØ) *sprout feathers* [partuwarlaa + -rri-]
- Partuwartu (NC) *Jerry Jerrold's country* [partu + redup. -partu, cf. Marra (NP)]
- partuwi- (VN) *pull feathers out, e.g. ----- parturrau: pluck a turkey (OBJ)* [partu + -pi-]



paru, pl. -urru (NC) *any kind of spinifex but especially hard (buck)*  
*spinifex* [cf. Nm paru, pl. -kurru]

parumaya (NC) *mia-mia, humpy, spinifex house* (Aboriginal English)  
 [paru + maya]

patha- (NC) 1. *rubbed* 2. *painted*

-pathaa (S) 1. DIRECT ALLATIVE CASE MARKER 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER  
 [cf. Nm -walhara]

pathama- (VL) 1. *rub* 2. *paint* [patha- + -ma-, cf. Pn palhama-]

patharra (NC) *budgerigar* [patha- (2) + -rra (S1), cf. Nm palharra  
*green, blue, pallarra budgie*]

patharri- (VØ) 1. *get rubbed, rub oneself* 2. *get painted, paint oneself* (see nyirra- [VØ2]) [patha- + -rri-]

pattyarri (NC) *hill kangaroo, euro, picketer* (local term < Nm pikurta) [cf. Nm paltyarri (= Yi palyirri), WD tyapaltyarri and nyapaltyarri (male and female subsection names)]

pattyarringu (NC) var. = palyirri [pattyarri + -ngu (1c)]

patya (NC) *bony, skinny* [cf. Nm palla]

patyawarni (VØ) *get skinny* [patya + -warni-]

patyila (NC) *turkey-fruit, banana caper, caper bush* [also Nm, Ka]

Patyinhurrpa (NP) *borr. Cossack* [< Nm]

Patyku (NC) *Pailgu* [cf. Pl Pallku, see also maykan and section 3.1.1.1.3 in the Grammar]

patyuwatyu (NC) *wrinkled, rumpled* [patyu- + redup. -patyu]

pau (NC) *hey!* [cf. Ny payi, Yi -u, -yi (S1)]

paul (NC) *borr. chicken* [< English fowl, but see also next entry]

paularri (NC) *night heron* [cf. Nm payularri]

pauny, pl. -pirti (NC) *wind grass*

paurta (NC) *needlewood* [cf. Nm pakurta]

pawa (NC) *fresh water, including water-based solutions especially drinkable ones* (cf. Nm, Pn papa)

pawama- (VL) 1. *strike water* 2. coll. ----- warrapau: *water the lawn* (OBJ) [pawa + -ma-]

pawanyaa (NC) *depression at the base of the throat* [pawa + -nyaa (1)]

pawatypirti (NC) *watery, juicy* [pawa + -ty + -pirti (1)]

paya (NC) 1. *fight* (Aboriginal English), *war* 2a. *viciousness*  
 2b. *fierce, savage, vicious* 3a. *anger, rage* 3b. *angry, wild*  
 4a. *force* 4b. *forceful, bossy* [cf. Nm patya, Nr patyarr]

-paya (S) PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX: *having, possessing*

payaarri- (VØ) 1. *become savage or vicious* 2. *get wild or angry, fly into a rage* [paya (2a,3a) + -karri-, cf. Nm patyawarni-]

payama- (VL) *urge, force* [paya (4a) + -ma-]

payamalu (NC) *king brown snake, mulga snake* [paya (2a) + -malu, cf. Nm patyamalu]

payamarri- (VØ) 1. *argue together, quarrel with one another* 2. *urge or force each other* [paya (3b,4a) + -marri-]

payankarra (NC) *warrior, soldier* (Aboriginal English) [paya (1) + -n + -karra (1)]

payankarrangu (NC) = payankarra [payankarra + -ngu (1c)]

payanytyi (NC) *borr. police* [app. < Ma or Ku (= Yi paya [4b] + -ny [2] + -tyi)]

payarra (NC) = payankarra [paya (1) + -rra (S1)]

payarrangu (NC) = payankarra [payarra + -ngu (1c)]

payawirri- (VØ) = payaarri- [paya (2a,3a) + -pi (1) + -rri-]

payawurtu (I) 1. *fierce, angry or bossy type* 2. ----- paru: *buck spinifex* [paya (2b,3b,4b) + -purtu, cf. Nm patyapurtu]

payha- (VL) 1. ----- nhurnu ngula: *throw this* (OBJ) *at that* (LOC) 2. wirrwi ----- + -ku: *the wind is blowing* 3a. ----- yilirru: *spin* 3b. ----- tyilungartau: *drill with a firestick* (OBJ) [also Ku, but cf. Nm patha- (VR)]

payhaa (NC) *itchy grape* [cf. Nm pathara]

payhurru (NC) *flood*

payi (NC) *specifically the radius (bone), but loosely the forearm* [also Ku; cf. Pn, Pl, Nl patyi]

-payi (S) PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX [< -pari, see section 3.2.1.1.2 in the Grammar]

payilam, obl. stem payilamu- (NC) *borr. boil* [app. < Eng boil 'm]

payilama- (VL) var. = payilamarni- [payilam + -ma-]

payilamarni- (VØ) *boil* [payilamu- + -rni-, see karrwarn]

payilamu- (NC) see payilam [back formation from free form, see also section 2.2.1 in the Grammar]

payilamurri- (VØ) *be boiling* [payilamu- + -rri-]

payipa (NC) *borr. pipe* [< Eng]

payiwanarra (NC) *plains kangaroo, marloo* (local term < WD marlu) [payi + wanarra (1), cf. Pn patyiwanarra]

- pi- (VN) FACTITIVE VERBALISER [also Nm and Pn]
- pi (S) 1. *sticking out, manifest(ed)* 2. DUAL NUMBER MARKER
- pil (NC) *grassless flat* [cf. Nm pityiri]
- pila (NC) *outside, in the open* [pil + -la (1)]
- piki (NC) *borr. pig* [< Eng]
- pikipiki (NC) = piki [piki + redup. -piki]
- pila- (NC) *pertaining to spears* [cf. Nm pilarra *spear*]
- pilaa (NC) *native millet, panic grass*
- pilakurta (NC) *one who can make anything, master craftsman*  
[pila- + -ku (S) + -rta (1)]
- pilampurrwa (NC) *spearwood* [pila- + -mpu + -rr (1) + -pa (S)]
- pilaurrwa- (VØ) *respect lang. = pangkarri-* [cf. Yd pila- (VN)  
*go into*, see also Yi nhau- (NC) and pilampurrwa]
- pilin (NC) *flat bedrock*
- pima- (VL) CAUSATIVE VERBALISER [-pi (1) + -ma-]
- pinga (NC) *rushing*
- pingawarni- (VØ) *rush around* [pinga + -warni-]
- pingkayi (NC) *holiday*, e.g. ----- parni: *be on, have or take a holiday* (NOM), ----- pangkarri-: *go on holiday* (NOM) [cf. Nm pingka *hunting*]
- pinhtha (NC) *wet sloppy mud*
- pinhtharlurlu (NC) *muddy (coloured)* [pinhtha + -rlurlu]
- pinhthi (NC) *partly finished, half done*
- pinhthi (NP) 1. *husband's sister, woman's brother's wife*  
2. *daughter of a woman's father's sister or of a woman's mother's brother*
- pinhu- (NC) 1. *correct relationship* 2. *cordial behaviour*
- pinhuma- (VL) ngayi ----- + -ku nyinku: *I am in the correct section (wuungu) with respect to you (considering how we are related in terms of kinship and marriage. All our shared kinsmen must have married according to the law)* [pinhu- (1) + -ma-]
- pinhumarri- (VØ) 1. *interrelate properly within Yindjibarndi law, especially the section system* 2a. *greet one another cordially*  
2b. *interact harmoniously, get along together well* [pinhu- + -marri-]
- pini (NC) *not com. fast, quick*
- pinima- (VL) *not com. do something quickly, speed* [pini + -ma-]

- pinimaa (NC) *not com. 1. speedy person, fast runner 2. motor vehicle* [pini + -maa]
- pininkarri- (VØ) *go fast, run* [pini + -ngka (1) + -rri-]
- pinkali- (VØ) *turn (around)*
- pinkirtira (NC) *borr. wolf-man* [< Ma]
- pinpa- (VØ) *flash, sparkle, twinkle*
- pinpila (NC) *grasshopper*
- pinyarri- (VØ) *be fighting* [pinya- (= Tr [V] *spear*) + -rri-]
- pinytyawinytya (NC) *shaking* [pinytya- + redup. -pinytya]
- pinytyawinytyama- (VL) *shake* [pinytyawinytya + -ma-]
- pinytyawinytyarri- (VØ) 1. *be shaking, shake oneself* 2. *puyha -----: disagree, shake one's head (NOM) 'no'* 3. *wanytya ----- + -Ø*  
*karnrti: the dog is wagging its tail (NOM)* [pinytyawinytya + -rri-]
- pirirri (NC) *adult male from about eighteen years of age*
- pirna (NC) *bug*
- pirni- (VN) *swear (at), use abusive language (toward)*
- pirninmarri- (VØ) *swear at each other* [pirni- + -nmarri-]
- pirnkartangu (NC) *species of wild tobacco which grows near the mouth of caves*
- pirnrtirri (NC) *star* [cf. next entry]
- pirnrtiwirnrti (NC) 1. *separate(d), different from each other*  
 2. *scattered* [pirnrti- + redup. -pirnrti]
- pirnrtu (NC) *food, groceries, stores, provisions*
- pirnrtuwarriri- (VØ) *run out of food* [pirnrtu + -parriri-]
- pirpu (NC) *bone marrow* [cf. Ku pirtpu, Nm pirlpu]
- pirra (NC) *rough outer covering of anything, e.g. outer bark on a tree, sloughed off snake skin, etc.*
- pirrapirra (NC) *shell* [pirra + redup. -pirra]
- pirri (NC) 1. *the afternoon in general, but esp. late afternoon just before sunset* 2. *bnd. form very slender* [cf. Nm pirri  
*goanna talon, WD nail*]
- pirri (S) 1. *-ish* 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. -pirti]
- pirrii (NC) *very slender like a spinifex ear, match or toothpick*  
 [pirri- + -ri, cf. Nm pirriri]
- pirringu (NC) *(one's) own*

- pirrirti (NC) 1. *fibula (small bone in the lower leg)* 2. *rare small boomerang* [pirri- + -rti]
- pirriwirraa- (VR) ----- kurrumanhthuu: *scale a bungarra* (OBJ)  
[pirra + redup. -pirra + -ra-, see wirtirri-]
- pirriya- (VL) 1. *pinch* 2. ----- puyhayi: *screw a head* (OBJ)  
[cf. Nm pirritya-, and see Yi puwarrima-]
- pirru- (NC) 1. *meat, flesh* 2. *animal, especially a bird*  
[cf. Tr pirru meat]
- pirrupirru (NC) *sacred kingfisher* [pirru- (2) + redup. -pirru,  
cf. Nm pirrupirrura]
- pirrurnmarra (NC) *respect lang.* = murla [pirru- + -rn + -marra,  
cf. Nm purrurn cooked food]
- pirrwi- (VN) 1. *file, rasp, grind* 2. ----- matyirru: *strike a match* (OBJ) 3. ----- tyilungartau: *start a fire with a firesaw* (OBJ) [cf. Nm pirrpi-]
- pirrwinti- (VØ) *come away or apart and fall, slip off and fall*  
[cf. Nm pirrpinti-]
- pirta (NC) 1. *nest* 2. *elevated burial platform, platform burial*
- Pirtan (NP) *Onslow* [< T1]
- pirtarra (NC) *concluding ceremonial feast in the initiation rite (takes place on a bed of leaves)* [pirta + -rra (S1), see also nyurnrta]
- pirti (NC) 1a. *not real, not true* 1b. *try to but fail, try in vain* 2. *bnd. form discoloured leaf or feather* [cf. WD purti, purta, purtu *try in vain, cannot* (see Yi martimirri), pirtipirti *leaf*, Nm *flower*]
- pirti (S) 1. *-y, -ie* 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [1. = Nm, Ny]
- pirtimantaty (NC) *kind of makeshift belt consisting of strips of cloth tied together* [pirti (1a) + manta- (NC) + -ty]
- pirtirra (NC) *little corella, white cockatoo* [pirti- + -rra (S1), see parturra]
- pirtitha (NC) *dry or dead leaf* [pirti- + -tha, cf. WD pirtil[h]a *leaf*]
- pirtiwirtaa (NC) = pirtuwirtaa [< base form, see martimirri]
- pirtu (NC) 1a. *chisel* 1b. *bnd. form big toe* 2. *bnd. form abduct*  
[cf. Ku, WD pirtu *big toe*]
- pirtunu (NC) 1. *captured* 2. *kidnapped* [pirtu- (2) + -nu (1)]
- pirtunuma- (VL) 1. *capture* 2. *kidnap* [pirtunu + -ma-]
- pirtunurri- (VØ) *get captured or kidnapped* [pirtunu + -rri-]
- pirtupurrka (NC) *invisibly, lit. having spinifex gum on one's big toes, e.g. ----- pangkarri-: go on a revenge mission* [pirtu- (1b) + purrka (1)]

- pirtuwangu, no pl. (NC) *initiant* [pirtu- (2) + -ka or -pa (S) + -ngu (1c)]
- pirtuwanguma- (VL) *capture for initiation* [pirtuwangu + -ma-]
- pirtuwirtaa (NC) *scout, watchman* (Aboriginal English) [pirtu- (2) + redup. -pirtu + -ra (1a)]
- pirtuyhu- (VL) ----- nganii: *blow on something* (OBJ) [pirtu- (< pirtu, see mirlamirla) + -yhu- (1)]
- pitharnrti (NC) *galah (bird)* [pitha- + -rn + -rti, cf. Nm pilhaku; also note Nl pilharri red]
- pithu (NC) 1. *green* 2. *blue*
- pithuwarni- (VØ) *turn green or blue* [pithu + -warni-]
- pitinymarra (NC) *waranu from the mountain gum tree* [pitl- (app. < pirtl-) + -ny (2) + -marra]
- pitpakurru (NC) *mangumangu having a point with four edges* [app. pitpa- + -ku (S) + -rru (2), cf. Nm pilpakurru, and see next entry]
- pitpiny (NC) *wooden sword* [cf. Nm pilpiny, note preceding entry and see piyhiny]
- pitya (NC) *rare penis* [cf. WD pilli vagina]
- Pityin (NP) 1. *Pigeon Camp (outstation to Mount Florance Station)*  
2. *Ken M. Jerrold (who was born there)* [2. < 1.]
- pityparra (NC) 1. *dehydrated, dessicated* 2. *u.c. piece of dry ground near Yandeearra where the Pilbara Mining Centre is situated* [cf. Nm pillparra, Ka Pillparra (> Eng Pilbarra > Pilbara)]
- pityparrara (NC) *milkfish, jumper bream* (local term) [app. pityparra (1) + -ra (1a), cf. Nm pillparrara]
- Piwa (NC) *borr. Peawah River (approximate boundary between Ngarluma and Kariara ground)* [< Nm]
- piwaarra (NC) *mother's sister and her sister's child* [piwi- + -yarra (2), cf. Nm pipiyarra]
- piwi (NC) 1. *breast, teat* 2. *bnd. form mother's sister* [cf. Nm pipi breast, Ma mother, mother's sister]
- piyaa (NC) *thirsty* [piyu + -ra (1a)]
- piyaantaa- (VR) ----- murlayi: *jerk meat* (OBJ) [piyaa + -n + -la (1) + -ra-]
- piyaantaakaayi (NC) *jerky, biltong (preserved meat which has been cooked and dried)* [piyaantaa- + -kaayi, see wirtiwirtaa- and kampaayi]
- piyaarri- (VØ) *get thirsty* [piyaa + -(ka)rri-, see waarri- (VØ1) and yarrwatharri-]

Piyali (NP) *pool near the old wagon crossing on the Fortescue River not far from the site of the purnrtut*

Piyanti (NP) *borr. Dave Pianti* [< Eng]

piyany (NC) *claypan*

piyhangarra (NC) *white dragon tree, river corkbark* (Aboriginal English) [cf. Nm pithangarra and see Yi wiyangarra, yirringan]

piyhiny (NC) *kangaroo tick* [cf. Nm pitharn and see Yi pitpiny]

piyu (NC) *dry* [cf. Nm pityu]

piyulinykarra (NC) *painted yellow* [piyulu (1,2a) + -ny (2) + -karra (1)]

piyulu (NC) 1. *yellow ochre* 2a. *yellow* 2b. *orange*

piyulurri- (VØ) *turn yellow* [piyulu (2a) + -rri-]

piyuma- (VL) *dry* [piyu + -ma-, cf. Nm pityuka-]

piyuwarni- (VØ) *get dry* [piyu + -warni-, cf. Nm pityuwarni-]

-puka (S) *poss. borr. thing, person* [< Nm]

pula (NC) 1. *spherical, oval* 2. *ball, lump*

pularta (NC) 1. *heart* 2. *pump, piston* [pula (2) + -rta (1)]

pulartangarli (NC) *piston engine, motor* [pularta (2) + -ngarli]

puliman (NC) *borr. cow, bull* [pul- (< Eng) + -li (1) + -man, cf. WD puluman, Wa purluman, see also next entry]

puluku (NC) *borr. bull, cow* [app. < Eng bullock, cf. Dy puluki, WD puliki, puluka, but see preceding item]

pulurru (NC) *species of tree with a leaf resembling that of the peach*

Pulurru (NP) *Boolooroo Jack Smith* [< NC]

punaangu (NC) *bloodwood*

pungaa (NC) *raisin bush, currant tree*

pungka- (VØ) 1. *fall (other than in reference to rain)* 2. *mara*  
----- nganangu: *choose someone* (OBJ) 3. *wirrart* ----- ngana:  
*agree with someone* (NOM)

punha (NC) *sexual desire* [also Nm]

punhamali (NC) *randy* [punha + -ma (1) + -li (1), cf. Nm punhamama]

punhanguli- (VØ) *get randy* [punha + -nguli- (1), cf. Nm punhangali-]

punhtha- (VØ) *wash oneself, bathe*: 1. *mara* -----: *wash one's hands* (NOM) 2. *parla* -----: *take a bath or shower*

punhtha- (VL) 1. *wash* 2. ----- *warrapau*: *water the lawn* (OBJ)  
[cf. N1 *punytya-* *drink*, Nm *plnytya-*]

-punhtharri (S) PURPOSE SUFFIX: 1. *something for the* \_\_\_\_\_  
2. *something to use for* \_\_\_\_\_ *ing* [also Nm]

punpi (NC) *hunting blind*

puntiirri (NC) *spike bush (a source of flat tyres)* [cf. -tyirri (S1), WD *puntl cassia bush*]

punytya- (NC) *wash, bath* [cf. *punhtha-*]

punytyat (NC) *dew* [*punytya-* + -t (3)]

punytyi (NC) *black-barred grunter, native yellow perch* [< *punytya-*, see also *tyinytyl* and section 2.2.7 in the Grammar]

punytyunytyurra (NC) *ant lion* [app. *punytyu-* + -ny (2) + -tyu + -rr (1) + -pa (S), cf. *Yantlmpurra*]

pura (NC) *outback, bush*

-pura (S) *borr.* PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [< Nm]

purkan (NC) *hip bone situated at the belt line*

purku (NC) *tobacco quid* [cf. Ku *purtku*, Nm *purlku*]

purlaa (NC) 1. *ahead, in front, in the lead, first* 2. *before, already* [*purlu-* (2) + -ra (1b), cf. Nm *purlura*]

purlaala (NC) *fruit* [*purlaa* (1) + -la (2), cf. *purlaawa* and see also *karnrtlmarta*]

purlaalarri- (VØ) *bear fruit* [*purlaala* + -rrl-, cf. *yarrwatharri-*]

purlaawa (NC) *non-native flower* (see *tyurtu*) [*purlaa* (1) + -pa (S), cf. *purlaala*]

Purlinytyirrmarra (NP) *name of the emu-man who got chased by rock python at the beginning of the world* (see Text 72) [*purlu-* (2) + -ny (2) + -tyi + -rr (1) + -marra, cf. *Yartanymarra* and see *plyullnykarra*]

purliwana (NC) *bullroarer* [cf. *parnangarrl*]

purlu- (NC) 1. *face, facing* 2. *front*

purlumarri (NC) *face-to-face, facing each other* [*purlu-* (1) + -marri]

Purlumpa (NP) *Booloomba Pool (boundary between Yindjibarndi and Marduthunira ground)* [*purlu-* (2) + -mpa]

purlunytya- (VL) 1. *nod* 2. *agree* [*purlu-* (1) + -ny (2) + -tya-]

purlurlu (NC) *Rhinoceros beetle* [*purlu-* (1) + -rlu]



- purlutmu (I) *before reaching the goal, e.g. ----- karri-: stop short* [purlu- (2) + -t (1) + -mu (2b)]
- purluyharrarni (NC) *each other, one another* [purlu- (1) + -tha + -rru (1) + -rni (1), cf. yawurrarni]
- purluyhu- (VL) 1. *have a look, take a gander* 2. *visit* [purlu- (1) + -yhu- (1)]
- purna (NC) *erection* [cf. Ny *axe-handle*, WD *purnu stick*, see also Yi *warnrti*]
- purnan (I) *respect lang. = mirta*
- purnanyirunyiru (NC) *red-capped robin* [purna + nyiru- + redup. -nyiru (app. bird's call), see also *karlairtu*]
- purniina (NC) *seed of the kurkaurta*
- purnngaarri (NC) *cyclonic cloud, running cloud* (Aboriginal English)
- purnrta (NC) 1. *depression, pothole* 2. *coll. deep* 3. *thampi -----: hollow ribs*
- purnrtawurnrta (NC) *full of potholes, bumpy* [purnrta (1) + redup. -purnrta, cf. Nm *purnrtapurnrta*]
- purnrtut (NC) 1. *sacred dancing circle, bora ring* 2. *first ceremony in the initiation rite, e.g. parni- -----: put on or stage an initiation rite*
- Purnu (NP) *Alfred Boona* [cf. WD *tree*, see also *Pulurru* and *Witypa*]
- purnu (S) *habitually using the* \_\_\_\_\_
- purpaa (NC) 1. *mound, hump* 2. *rise, incline* [cf. Ku *purtpaa swollen*]
- purpi (NC) 1. *want* 2. *like* 3. *need* [cf. Ku *purtpi*, Nm *purlpi*]
- purpiwarni- (VØ) 1. *want, desire* 2. *like, admire* 3. *need, require*
- purra (NC) *marsupial pouch* [cf. WD *puta*]
- purra (S) PSEUDO-SEMBLATIVE: *approaching, something like but not quite*
- purraa (S) INDIRECT ALLATIVE CASE MARKER [app. -purra + -ra (1b), see -kaa]
- purri- (VN) 1. *pull* 2. *extract: pull, bring or take out* 3. *suck in or out* 4. *select for presentation*
- purrka (NC) 1. *spinifex resin (loosely called 'gum')* 2. *wax* [cf. Nm *pulka*]
- purrkurn (NC) *close smoke* (see *karnrtirri*)

- purrkurnpima- (VL) *cause to smoke, e.g. ----- payipau: puff on a pipe* (OBJ) [purrkurn + -pima-]
- purrkurnrtaa- (VL) *smoke* [purrkurn + -la (1) + -ka-]
- purrkurnrtaarri- (VØ) *be smoking* [purrkurnrtaa- + -rri-]
- purrua (NC) *a kind of flinty dark blue stone*
- purrua (NC) *sad*
- purruu (NC) *hair belt* [cf. Nm purruru]
- purta (NC) 1. *testicle* 2. *bnd. form ball, lump*
- purtaa (NC) *plant bearing a tassel having small round edible seeds* [purta- + -ra (1a)]
- purtaa (C) 1. *turn, time* 2. *next, then*
- Purtaarri (NP) *country in the tablelands where death is said to have originated* [app. < purtatyirri]
- purtartu (NC) *sandalwood (nut-bearing tree)* [purta- + -rtu (S1)]
- purtat (NC) *cannot* [purta- (= WD, see Yi pirti) + -t (3), cf. Nm purtal]
- purtatpi- (VN) *cannot do* [purtat + -pi-, cf. Nm purtalma- (VL)]
- purtatyirri (NC) *impassibly rough ground* [purta- + -tyirri (S1)]
- purtipala (NC) *borr. pretty, beautiful* [purti- (< Eng) + -pala]
- purtu (NC) *var. = purtungu* [also Ku]
- purtu (C) CATEGORIAL CLITIC: *kind, sort, type* [also Nm]
- Purtuna (NC) *Purduna*
- purtungu (NC) *chest* [purtu + -ngu (1c)]
- purtuwayi (NC) *curlybark (tree)* [as if purtu + -payi, cf. Nm purtuwari and see Yi nyanti]
- purungu (NC) *perentie wuungu* [cf. Nm purrangara 'perentie (a large monitor which makes its home in the rocks)'; see also Yi puunyngu]
- puthi (NC) *borr. pussycat* [< Eng, cf. Nm putyi]
- Puthingaarta (NC) *nickname for Murtimaa* [puthi + ngaarta (1)]
- putpu (NC) 1. *axe blade* 2. *u.c. name of a rock waterhole near Pannawonica* [cf. Pn pulpur]
- putpurli (NC) *circular in cross-section, e.g. circular, spherical, etc.* [putpu + -rli]
- putput (NC) 1. *native pheasant, pheasant coucal* 2. *its call* (see Text 71, paragraph 2, sentence 4) [put- + redup. -put, cf. Nm pulpul]

- puu- (NC) *smoke* [cf. Pl, WD puyu]
- puungu (NC) *var.* = purungu [< base form]
- puunyngu (NC) *comb honey found in rock holes* [cf. purungu]
- puuyhu- (VL) 1. ----- kurrumanhthuu mutyingka: *smoke a bungarra*  
 (OBJ) *out of his hole* (LOC) 2. ----- mangkurlau: *punish a child*  
 (OBJ) [puu- + -yhu- (1)]
- puwa (NC) 1. *rotten like food* 2. *sour* [cf. Nm puka]
- puwaa (NC) *little black cormorant* [as if puwa (1) + -kaa, cf. Nm pukakura]
- puwamarta (NC) *scavenger* [puwa (1) + -marta (Sla)]
- puwarlu (NC) *rotten like wood* [puwa (1) + -riu]
- puwarri (NC) 1. *dream* 2. ----- watyi: *nightmare* [cf. WD pukarri]
- puwarrima- (VL) 1. *dream* 2. ----- watyi: *have a nightmare*  
 [puwarri + -ma-, cf. Nm pukarritya-]
- puwayi (NC) *rare var.* = puwayu [cf. Nm pukatyti]
- puwayu (NC) *club-rush* [cf. puwayi, see also yirrauyu]
- puya- (VL) *kiss* [also Nm]
- puyaarpa- (VØ) *float* [< puyaa- (cf. WD puyura- [VNG]) + -r- +  
 -pa (S), see also karpa-]
- puyama (NC) *orphan*
- puyawirtu (NC) *firestick bush* [cf. Nm putyayirti (see Yi -lriti) and Yi  
 pirtu (1a), nyarrawirtu]
- puyha (NC) 1. *head* 2. ----- mankarr: *blockhead, dense person*  
 [cf. Pn putha]
- puyhangkama- (VL) *put something on one's head, e.g.* ----- tyangkurruu:  
*put on a hat* (OBJ) [puyha (1) + -ngka (1) + -ma-]
- puyuw- (VN) *singe and then scrape off the burnt hair* [cf.  
 Nm putyupi-, app. Ku puyua- (VL) and see Yi puyawirtu]

## R

- r- (S) *var.* = -rt (2)
- ra- (VR) FACTITIVE VERBALISER
- ra (S) 1a. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 1b. (REVERSING) LOCATIVE CASE  
 MARKER 2. AGENT SUFFIX
- rapit (NC) *borr. rabbit* [< Eng, cf. WD rapita]

- rarri- (VØ) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [cf. -ra-]
- rarri (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. -rri (2)]
- ri- (VØ) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [cf. -rri-]
- ri (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- rla (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- rlarla (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- rli (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- rlu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- rlurlu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- rn (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- rna (C) 1. RETROFLEX NOUN CLASSIFIER, *one* 2. PAST TENSE MARKER  
[cf. Nm OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER (for *nhu-* and *ngu-* [= Yi]) and  
PAST TENSE MARKER, see also -na and -nha]
- rnaarnu (S) PASSIVE PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [-rnu (2) + -ra- +  
-rnu (2), cf. -rnumarnu]
- rni- (VØ) FACTITIVE VERBALISER
- rni (S) 1. ABLATIVAL LOCATIVE CASE MARKER 2. ALLATIVAL LOCATIVE  
CASE MARKER
- rnma (S) IMPERATIVE MOOD MARKER [-rn + -ma (2), cf. Nm -rrma]
- rnmarri- (VØ) RECIPROCAL VERBALISER [-rn + -marri-, cf. Nm  
-rrmarri-]
- rnmarta (S) 1. HABITUAL ASPECT MARKER 2. AGENT SUFFIX  
[-rn + -marta (2)]
- rnnyaa (S) PASSIVE OPTATIVE MOOD MARKER [-rn + -nyaa (2)]
- rnpuntharri (S) PURPOSIVE SUFFIX: *something to* \_\_\_\_\_ *with*  
[-rn + -puntharri (2)]
- rnu (S) 1a. OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER 1b. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX: *-ing*  
2. IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER
- rnumarnu (S) PROGRESSIVE ASPECT MARKER [-rnu (2) + -ma- + -rnu (2)]
- rr (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. AGENT SUFFIX
- rr- (S) *var.* = -t (3)
- rra- (VR) FACTITIVE VERBALISER
- rra (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER  
3. CAUSAL SUFFIX: *(be)cause (of)*
- rra (C) DUBITATIVE CLITIC [also Ku and Nm, cf. Yi -nta and see  
tyirrityirri]

- rrari- (VØ) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [cf. -rra-]
- rri- (VØ) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [also Nm]
- rri (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER
- rrirri (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- rru (S) 1. ALLATIVAL LOCATIVE CASE MARKER 2. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX [1. < -tu (S)]
- rt (S) 1. *one, place* 2. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- rta (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. LOCATIVE CASE MARKER
- rtarri (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. -rri (2)]
- rti (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- rtirti (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- rtu (S) 1. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX 2. INSTRUMENTAL CASE MARKER
- rtu (C) 1. CONTRAST CLITIC: *on the contrary, not the other*  
2. *one* [cf. Pn, WD (= Yi -pa [C1])]
- rturtu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- ru (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX [see -ra (1)]

## T

- t (S) 1. ALLATIVAL LOCATIVE CASE MARKER 2. *one* 3. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- Tampia (NC) *borr. Dampier* [< Eng]
- th- (S) MORPHEME SEPARATOR [also Nm]
- tha- (NC) 1. *stuck in(to)* 2. *stuck under*
- tha (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX
- thaa (NC) 1. *mouth* 2. *beak* [cf. Pn thara < PPN \*tyaara (= \*tyaa- [=WD] + -\*ra [= Yi (1a)]), but note also Nm thaya]
- thaa- (VL) 1. *allow, permit, let* 2. *release, let go, drop* 3. *send* [cf. Nm thaya- (VL)]
- thaarri (NC) 1. *female genitalia* 2. ----- *watyikarta: insulting epithet for a woman* [thaa (1) + -rri (1), but note T1 thara *marsupial pouch*, Ny tyara]
- thaarriarlaa (NC) *female* [thaarri (1) + -karlaa]
- thaarriya (NC) *priest in charge of the baby increase site* [thaarri (1) + -tya]

- thaarta (NC) 1. *split (open)* 2. ----- karri-: *stand with legs spread apart* [thaa (1) + -rta (1)]
- Thaarta (NP) *Tarda Pool* [< NC1]
- thaartama- (VL) *split open* [thaarta (1) + -ma-]
- Thaathi (NC) *rare borr. Thursday* [< Eng]
- thaawarru (NC) *coll. carpet snake* [thaa (1) + warru (1)]
- thala (NC) *large black and yellow carpenter bee, native bumblebee*
- Thalanytyi (NC) *Thalandji* [thalany- (= *Ma tongue*) + -tyi]
- thalu (NC) 1. *sacred site, increase site* 2. *tame, pet*
- thaluma- (VL) ----- mutyirau: 1. *operate the dingo increase site* 2. *tame a dingo* (OBJ) [thalu + -ma-]
- thama (NC) 1. *firewood* 2. *fire*
- thamii (NP) 1. *maternal grandfather* 2. *man's daughter's son, woman's son's son* [thamu- (= WD *tyamu paternal grandrelative*) + -tyi, cf. *Ny tyamutyi*]
- thampa (PC) 1. *what about (it), so what* 2. *nearly, just about* 3. *but* [app. *tha- what* + -mpa, cf. *Pl tyarni where*]
- thampanyu (PI) *but actually, but really* [thampa (3) + -nyu (C)]
- thampi (NC) *rib*
- Thampirri (NC) *Tambrey Station* [cf. preceding entry]
- thamunu (NC) *uncircumcised* [cf. WD *thamanu unschooled nyurnrta* and see also *Yi pirtunu*]
- thangka (NC) *stuck in* [tha- (1) + -ngka (1)]
- thangkaarlaa (NC) *impaled* [thangka + -karlaa]
- thangkama- (VL) ----- nhurnu ngula: *stick this* (OBJ) *into that* (LOC) [thangka + -ma-]
- thangkarr (NC) *enough, that's all there is to it*
- thangkawarni- (VØ) *become stuck in* [thangka + -warni-]
- thangkina (NC) *plaited hair which may be wrapped around the head or body*
- thani- (VN) *chop* [cf. *Ku hit*, *Nm thalku-* (VØ) < pres. tense of the obs. form \*tha- (VL) *hit*, but note also *Yi tha-* (1)]
- thankarta (NC) *trembling* [thanka- + -rta (1), cf. *Pn thankarnkiyi-* (= *Yi thankartarri-*)]
- thankartama- (VL) ----- nganii: *make something* (OBJ) *tremble* [thankarta + -ma-]

- thankartarri- (VØ) *tremble* [thankarta + -rri-]
- thanpartan (NC) 1. *coolamon* (bark basin or bucket) 2. *enamel basin* [cf. ngawurtan]
- thapartu (NC) *woman who has lost a child, bereft mother* [also Nm]
- tharkarri- (VØ) *thud* [cf. -(ka)rri-]
- tharlaa- (VL) *kick* [tharla- (app. = Nm knee) + -ka-, cf. app. Ku tharlayi- and see section 1.1.3 in the Grammar]
- Tharlayinti (NC) app. borr. 1. *Talereendiner Pool* 2. *Croydon Station* [< Nm]
- tharlingka (NC) *on the shoulders* [cf. WD tyarli head ring for carrying]
- tharnangka (NC) *piggyback* [tharna- (=WD tyarna back) + -ngka (1)]
- tharnarti (NC) *ocean, sea* [cf. -rti, tyananyungu]
- tharnku (NC) *bull ant* [cf. Nm karnku]
- tharnrtaangu (NC) *prickly saltwort, roly-poly, native tumbleweed* [tharnrtaa- (= Nm tharnrtara) + -ngu (1c)]
- Tharnrti (NC) *The Saucepan* (a minor constellation in Orion)
- tharpa (NC) *body*
- tharra (NC) *jag hook made from a twig stripped of its leaves and used to snag bardie grubs* [tha- (1) + -rra (S1)]
- tharrangkurla (NC) *kurrajong* (a deciduous tree) [tharra + -ngku (3) + -rla]
- tharratyti (NC) *bower bird* [cf. Nm tharralli]
- Tharrirti (NC) *rare borr. Saturday* [< Eng]
- Tharrkari (NC) *Thargari*
- tharrki (NC) *borr. domestic turkey* [< Eng]
- tharrunpirri (NC) *female kangaroo past the age of reproduction* [cf. Nm tharrkunpirri]
- tharruyharu (NC) *obscured* [tharru- + redup. -tharru]
- tharrwa- (VØ) 1a. *enter*, e.g. ----- mayayi: *go into a house* (OBJ)  
 1b. ----- warayi: *put on clothes* (OBJ) 2a. *go under* 2b. *yurra* -----  
 + -Ø: *the sun is setting* [< tha- + -rr- + -pa (S), cf. Nm tharrpa- (VØ)]
- tharrwa- (VR) *insert; stick, put or drive into*, e.g. ----- nhurnu ngula: *put this* (OBJ) *in(to) that* (LOC) [cf. Nm tharrpa- (VL)]
- tharta (NC) 1. *covered* 2. *closed, shut (off)* 3. *plugged* [also Nm]
- thartaankarri- (VØ) *sit with knees bent and parted and heels dug in* [thartaa- (< thaarta [2]) + -n + -karri-, see also thartapara]

thartama- (VL) 1. *cover* 2. *close, shut (off)* 3. *plug* [tharta + -ma-, cf. Nm thartatyi-]

thartapara (NC) *bow-legged* [see thartaankarri-]

thartarr (NC) *pocket gorge* [tharta (2) + -rr (1)]

thartarri- (VØ) 1. *cover oneself, get covered*, e.g. ---- kawurnku: *cover up in a skin* (OBJ) 2. *vanish, disappear* [tharta (1) + -rri-]

thartat (NC) *dull, blunt*

thartu (NC) *yandy, winnowing machine (linear centrifuge)*

tharurru (NC) *sundown* [tha- (2) + -ru + -rru (2), cf. tharrwa- (VØ2b)]

thatha (NC) *untrue*: 1. *lie* 2. *bnd. form opposite direction* (see also wala [I], thurrurt)

thathaarlaa (NC) 1. *liar* 2. *coll. smart aleck* [thatha (1) + -karlaa]

thathamarnrta (NC) 1. *greedy* 2. *stingy, mean* [\*thatha- (VØ) (cf. Nb tha- [VR] *eat*) + -marnrta (< -marta [S2b], see ngungkumarnrta), cf. Nm thalhanharri]

thatharruka (NC) *borr. sea turtle* [< Nm]

thatpi (NC) *wide*

thaun (NC) *borr. town* [< Eng, cf. WD, Dy tawun]

thaurra (NC) *fishing net* [cf. Nm thakurra]

thautha (NC) *borr. trousers* [< Eng, cf. Nm thawutha, WD tawityi]

thawu (NC) *house gecko* [also Nm]

thaya (NC) *borr. tyre* [< Eng]

thayhangurri (NC) *afternoon shade* [thatha- + -ngu (1c) + -rri (1)]

thii (NC) *borr. tea* [< Eng, cf. Nm thiyi, WD tyil]

thingkithingki (NC) *borr. bell* [< Eng; also Nm]

-thu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

thuku (NC) *boy about two years of age* (see nyurtun) [also Nm]

thula- (VL) *wanytya* ---- + -ku: *the dog is barking*

thuli (NC) 1. *tawny frogmouth* 2. *free to eat restricted food*

thulima- (VL) *free from a food prohibition* [thull (2) + -ma-]

thulu (NC) *face down*

thulurrungu (NC) *bent over* [thulu + -rru (1) + -ngu (1c)]



- thumpira- (VL) *turn a cylindrical object inside out*
- thumpirr (NC) *flatulation, fart* [*< thumpu (1a) + -rr (1), cf. kantiirr and also see wirrangkaa*]
- thumpirraarri- (VØ) *flatulate, fart* [*thumpirr + -rru (1) + -rarri-, cf. Nm thumpirra- (VØ) and also Yi kantiirraarri-*]
- thumpu (NC) 1a. *anus* 1b. *coll. arse, rear end* 2. *coll. fool, jackass*; e.g. ----- kuyauya: *silly ass*, ----- wantawanta: *crazy ass*
- thumpurtan (NC) 1. *flip, sommersault* 2. *dive* [*thumpu (1) + -rta (1) + -n*]
- thumpurtankarri- (VØ) 1. *do a flip, turn a sommersault* 2. *dive* [*thumpurtan + -karri-*]
- thungka (NC) *soil, dirt, sand*
- thungkari (NC) *grave* [*thungka + -ri, also Nm, but cf. Ny tyungkari*]
- Thungkawarna (NC) *Tunkawanna, Long Mack's country* [*thungka + -warna (= warna-)*]
- Thungkawarnanyungu (NC) *person belonging to the Tunkawanna mob* [*Thungkawarna + -nyungu*]
- thupu (NC) *borr. soap* [*< Eng*]
- thurangku (NC) *borr. intoxicated, drunk* [*< Eng*]
- thurangkurri- (VØ) *get drunk* [*thurangku + -rri-*]
- thurayam, obl. stem thurayamu- (NC) *borr. try, test* [*< Eng try 'm, see also payilam*]
- thurayamarni- (VØ) *try, test* [*thurayamu- + -rni-, see also payilamarni-*]
- thurayamu- (NC) *see thurayam* [*back formation from free form, see also payilamu-*]
- thurla (NC) 1. *eye* 2. *butt peg on a woomera* [*cf. Nm eye, thurlara butt peg*]
- thurlangkama- (VL) ----- kurriyartau: *hook a throwing spear (OBJ) to the butt peg of a woomera* [*thurla (2) + -ngka (1) + -ma-*]
- thurlapurnu (NC) *nosy* [*thurla (1) + -purnu*]
- thurlawarni- (VØ) 1. *open one's eyes* 2. *wake up* [*thurla (1) + -warni-*]
- thurlawuntharri (NC) *small depression in the butt end of a kurriyarta that the woomera peg (hook) fits into* [*thurla (2) + -puntharri (1)*]
- thurni- (VØ) *laugh (at), smile*

thurnrta- (VL) *roll* (see Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 6)

thurnrtu (NC) *seed of the kanytyi*

thurnu (NC) 1. *interior, the inside* 2. *the underside*

thurnungka (NC) 1. *inside* 2. *under(neath)* [thurnu + -ngka (1)]

thurnungkarri- (VØ) 1. *get inside* 2. *get under(neath)*  
[thurnungka + -rri-]

thurnungkurlu (NC) *deep* [thurnu (2) + -ngku (3) + -rlu]

thurrii (NC) *borr. three* [< Eng]

thurru (NC) *respect lang. = parrimirrti* [cf. Ng *snake*;  
N1, Ny *tyurru*]

thurrurt (NC) *true*: 1a. *straight toward or forward, direct*  
1b. ----- *wangka-*: *tell the truth* 2a. *proper, correct*  
2b. ----- *wartirra*: *prescribed woman* [cf. Nm *thurrkurl*  
and see next entry]

thurrwiny (NC) 1. *ignorant, uninformed, out-of-it* 2. *white gooseberry shrub, hundreds-and-thousands bush* [cf. Nm, Ka *thurrkuny bush with white fruit*, see *tyarrwurti* and *warrwu* and also *piyulinykarra*]

Thurti (NC) *Homestead Pool at Millstream*

thurtu (NP) 1. *older sister* 2. *older halvesister* 3. *stepsister through stepparent who is older sibling to replaced parent*  
4. *daughter of father's older brother or of mother's older sister* [also Nm, cf. WD *tyurtu*]

thurtuwarra (NC) *woman and her younger sibling* [thurtu + -karra (2)]

thurupu (NC) *borr. trough* [< Eng, see also *thurangku*]

Thuthurti (NP) *name of the dog owned by Nyaarrimarra* [thuthu- (= Ma *dog*) + -rti]

thuu- (VL) *poss. borr. = thuwayi-* [< pres. tense of the obs. form \*thu- (VØ), cf. Nm *thukutha-* (VL), Nb *thu-* (VR)]

thuumaya (NC) *borr. store, shop* [thuu- (< Eng) + *maya*]

thuurr (NC) *big and slow*

thuwarta (NC) *any kind of sweet food including fruit* [cf. Nm *thukurta* and see *karrwarn*]

thuwayi- (VN) *spear with a thrown instrument* [thuwa- (cf. N1 *thuwa-* [V]) + -yi-, see also Yi *thuu-*]

thuyhu- (VL) 1. *push* 2. *wirrwii* ----- + -ku: *the wind is blowing*

tii (NC) *var. = thli* [cf. WD *til*]

-tu (S) ALLATIVIAL LOCATIVE CASE MARKER

-tu (C) *one*

-ty (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-ty- (S) = -th- [app. < base form]

-tya- (VL) FACTITIVE VERBALISER [also Nm]

-tya (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

-tyaa (S) OPTATIVE MOOD MARKER

tyaama- (VØ) var. = tyaaamarri- [< thaa (1) + -ma (1), but see karntarrari-]

tyaaamarri- (VØ) *yawn* [tyaama- + -rri-]

tyaart (NC) *borr. shirt* [< Eng]

tyakatyakara (NC) *knob-tail gecko, barking gecko* [tyaka- + redup. -tyaka + -ra (1a)]

tyalinytya- (VL) ----- nganii: *suck on something (OBJ) inside the mouth (like a coughdrop)* [tyali- tongue + -ny (2) + -tya-, cf. Nm thaliwaru *blue-tongue lizard*]

tyamarlany (NC) *on tiptoes, sneaking quietly* [cf. yarrwarlanykaa]

tyami (NC) *medicine*

tyampa (NC) (*for, in or after*) *a short time or little while, soon* (see also parraa)

tyampirlangu (NC) *dry sweet sap found in cracks in the bark of the river red gum, black heart and my gum* [tyampi- (< thampi) + -rla + -ngu (1c)]

tyampu (NC) 1. *left hand* 2. *left-handed (person)* 3. (*on or to the*) *left side*

Tyampu (NP) *Leonard Wally* [< NC2]

tyampurra (NC) *left-handed (implement)* [tyampu (NC2) + -rra (S1)]

tyananyungu (NC) *parakeelya (an erect variety of pigweed that grows beside water)* [cf. -nyungu, tharnarti]

tyangayi (NC) *borr. slingshot, catapult, shanghai* [< Eng]

tyangka (NC) *burrowing goby (fish)* [< thangka]

tyangkurru (NC) *hat* [also WD]

tyanka- (VR) *tie* [see next entry]

tyankara (NC) *borr. police* [< Nm tyanka- (VL) + -ra (= Y1 [2])]

tyanpi- (VN) *snatch (grab and run)*

tyanta (NC) *crippled, lame* [cf. Ng thunta *thigh*, WD tyunta]

tyanti (NC) 1. *cough* 2. *phlegm*

tyanti- (VØ) *cough* [< NC1]

tyantinti (NC) *wild fowl* (local term): 1. *black-tail native hen*  
2. *eastern swampen* (recent immigrant) [cf. tyanti (1)]

tyanytyirn (NC) 1a. *bark curl* 1b. *wand decorated with them*  
2. *coll. tobacco of poor quality*

tyanytyu (NC) *sulky, sulking*

tyarnangu (NC) *bardie grub* [see tyananyungu]

tyarnkarra (NC) *ruffled feather* [cf. ngarnkarra, tyarnkurna]

tyarnku (PC) *self* [cf. Nm tya[r]nkurl]

tyarnkurna (NC) 1. *emu* 2. *u.c. the Coalsack* (a certain dark  
*spot in the Milky Way*) [see yarnkarra]

tyarnrtit (NC) *walking stick*

tyarparr (NC) *hot prickly tomato*

tyarpinytyarr (NC) *pratincole (bird)* [tyarpu- + -ny (2) + -tya-  
+ -rr (2), see piyulinykarra and wirtinytyirr]

tyarpu- (NC) *wing*

tyarpurrungu (NC) *wedge-tail eagle, eaglehawk* [tyarpu- + -rru (2)  
+ -ngu (1c)]

tyarraarn (NC) *any kind of frog but esp. the burrowing river  
frog* [tyarra- (= Nm tyarrka swollen) + -ra (1a) + -rn, cf. Nm  
tyarrkararn]

tyarri (NC) *niche, proper place*

-tyarri- (VØ) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [also Nm, cf. Ny tyarri- *become*,  
note also Yi -tya-]

-tyarri (S) RECIPROCAL SUFFIX

tyarru (NC) *March fly*

tyarru (I) *over and over*, e.g. ----- wangka-: *keep on repeating*

tyarrwayi (NC) (*raspberry*) *jam tree* [cf. Nm tyarrpayi]

tyarrwirti (NC) = tyarrwurti [< base form, see martimirri]

tyarrwurti (NC) 1. *three* 2. -----: *six* 3. ----- + -la:  
*three times* [tyarrwu- (= Tr tyarrku) + -rti]

tyarta (NC) 1. *blind* 2. *mature woman*

tyartawarni- (VØ) 1. *go blind* 2. *thurla* -----: *close one's eyes*  
(NOM) [tyarta (1) + -warni-]

tyartima- (VL) *have a feast or good feed* [tya- (NC) *eat* (cf. Bj tya- [V]) + -rti + -ma-, cf. Nm tyartimarri- (VØ) *embrace one another*]

tyartu (NC) 1. *Achilles tendon* 2. *bnd. form hole in rock* [cf. Ku pawatyartu (= Yi pawanyaa)]

tyartun (NC) var. = tyartunmarra [tyartu- + -n]

tyartungu (NC) *rock hole* [tyartu- + -ngu (lc)]

tyartunmarra (NC) *rock wallaby* [tyartun + -marra]

tyatya (NC) 1. *junk, rubbish, garbage* 2. *no-good, worthless* 3. *ignorant* 4. *ugly* [cf. Nm tyalla]

tyatyawarni- (VØ) 1. *turn to rubbish* 2. *get beaten, rubbished or bested* [tyatya (1) + -warni-]

Tyatyurra (NC) *Robe River*

tyawangkarna (NC) *owlet-nightjar* [cf. Nm tyapangkarna]

tyawarlarla (NC) *whisper(ing)* [tyawa- (= Ny mouth < PPN \*tyaawa) + -rlarla, see also thaa (1)]

tyawarlarlarri- (VØ) *whisper* [tyawarlarla + -rri-]

tyawi (NC) *song* [cf. Nm thapi]

Tyawiwanarra (NC) *Longsong* (see Text 2) [tyawi + wanarra (1)]

Tyawiwanarraarlaa (NC) *nickname for Yityangu* [Tyawiwanarra + -karlaa]

tyawurta (NC) *facial hair: beard or moustache* [cf. Ma tyapurta, WD tyaputu and see also Yi thaa and wurta]

tyaya- (VL) *escape, get away or out* [cf. Nm tyatya-]

tyayi (NC) 1. *prohibited from eating restricted food, fasting* 2. *bnd. form nectar* [cf. Nm tyatyī fasting, WD tatyī]

tyayimarra (NC) *flower of the blackheart tree* [tyayi- + -marra, cf. Nm thayimarra *flower of the cork tree*]

tyayira (NC) *boy about twelve to fourteen years of age, fasting youth* [tyayi + -ra (1a), cf. Nm tyatyira]

tyayumarta (NC) *bee-fly* [tyayu- (< tyayi-, see puwayu) + -marta (S1a), cf. Ku tyayimarta]

-tyi (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

tyia (NC) *borr. chair* [< Eng]

tyianti- (VR) *pour*

tyiirri (NC) *tiny particle, speck*: 1. ----- thama: *spark* 2. yuntu ----- payhaku: *rain is coming in a mist* [tyii- (= WD tii spark) + -rri (1)]

tyikin (NC) *borr. chicken* [< Eng]

Tyikulung, obl. stem Tyikulungu- (NC) *borr. Jig(g)along*

Tyikulungu- (NC) see Tyikulung [app. back formation from free form, see payilamu-]

Tyikurrart (NP) 1. *Sherlock Station* 2. ----- wuntu: *Sherlock River* [tyikurra- (> tyiurra) + -rt (1), see also Wirrawanti]

tyila (NC) *covered root, taproot* [cf. WD *snake*]

tyilaman (NC) *poss. borr. shoulder-gun of any kind: rifle, shotgun* [as if tyila + -man]

tyilangkurr (NC) *water-holding frog, spinifex frog* (Aboriginal English) [tyila- (= WD *soak*) + -ngku (1) + -rr (2)]

tyilarnngu (NC) *app. pinyuru (plant)* [tyila + -rn + -ngu (1c)]

tyilungarta (NC) *firestick: drill or saw (root of the puyawirtu)* [app. tyilu- (< tyila) + ngarta (NC)]

tyimarri (NC) *circumcision knife* [widespread term in Western Australia]

tyimpu (NC) *egg*

tyimpurrtymurr (NC) *speckled (like a crow's egg)* [tyimpu + -rr (1) + redup. -tyimpurr]

tyimpuwarlaarri- (VØ) *become egg-laden* [tyimpu + -karlaa + -rri-]

tyina (NC) 1. *foot including the toes* 2. *footprint, track* [< PPN]

tyinakala (NC) ----- pangkarri-: *skip* [tyina (1) + -kala (= kala- [2])]

tyinama- (VL) *track* [tyina (2) + -ma-]

tyinapuka (NC) *poss. borr. any sort of footwear from the native boot to the modern boot or shoe* [tyina (1) + -puka, see Kurnapuka]

tyinapurnu (NC) *footloose* [tyina (1) + -purnu]

tyinarlirr (NC) *all the way on foot without a lift* [tyina (1) + -rll + -rr (1)]

tyinartu (NC) 1. *right past, e.g. ----- pangkarri-: go by without stopping* 2. *(all the way) through* [tyina (1) + -rtu (S1)]

tyinatyamarlany (NC) ----- pangkarri- nganangu: *sneak up on someone (OBJ) without making any noise* [tyina (1) + tyamarlany]

tyinatyina (NC) *woman's skirt* [app. tyina (1) + redup. -tyina]

tyinayarnrtu (NC) *sock* [tyina (1) + -ty- + -arnrtu, cf. Nm tyinatharnrtu]

tyingka- (NDn) 1. *upstream* 2. *interior*

tyingkarni (NC) *from upstream* (see ngunhthirni[ngu]) [tyingka- (1) + -rni (1)]

- tyingkarnirri- (VØ) *emerge, come out* [tyingka- (2) + -rri (1) + -rri-]
- tyinhtha (NC) *foreskin*
- tyinhtharr (NC) *deadly poison*
- tyiniyarri- (VØ) *get sick, ache, be hurting* [cf. -(tya)rri-]
- tyinka- (VR) *chisel, carve, whittle* [cf. WD (VL)]
- tyinpi (NC) *small spring*
- tyintyi (NC) *animal fat* [also Nm]
- tyintyimama (NC) *obese, fat* [tyintyi + -mama]
- tyintyimamarri- (VØ) *get fat* [tyintyimama + -rri-]
- tyinytyanungu (NC) *worker (particularly for an initiation rite)*  
[tyinytya- (> tyinytyi [1]) + -nu (1) + -ngu (1c)]
- tyinytyi (NC) 1. *wage payment* 2. *brideprice* 3. *trade gift* (see also tyirra) [see preceding entry and also punytyi]
- tyinytyiwi- (VN) *bump, bang into, collide with* [cf. -pi-]
- tyipi (NC) *naked*
- tyirli (NC) *arm from shoulder to wrist*
- tyirlimirnrri (NC) *armstring* [tyirli + -mirnrri (< mirri- [1], see parrimirnrri), cf. Nm tyirlimarti]
- tyirnrta (NC) *hot coal, ember* [cf. WD tyirnrta sun]
- Tyirnrtaurina (NP) *Millstream Station* [tyirnrta + purri- (2) + -na (2), see also karlamana]
- tyirraakarri- (VØ) *jump, hop, e.g. kankala ----- + -Ø mangkurla: the child is jumping up and down* [tyirri- + -ra (1a) + -karri]
- Tyirrayi (NP) *Mount Florance Station*
- tyirri (NC) 1. *prickle, thorn, quill, needle* 2. *bnd. form projection*
- tyirri (S) 1. *sticking out, manifested* 2. PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [1. < NC2]
- tyirring (NC) *Millstream fan-palm* [tyirri + -ny (2)]
- tyirrityirri (NC) *willy wagtail, black-and-white flicker (bird)*  
[app. tyirri- + redup. -tyirri, cf. Pl, Nr tyitityiti; N1, WD tyintityinti]
- tyirriwi (NC) *echidna, native porcupine* [tyirri + -pi (1), cf. Nm tyirripuka]
- tyirrkayiny (NC) *large variety of red rock fig* [tyirrk- + -ri + -ny (2), cf. WD tyilkarrpa red ochre and see Yi ngangkaanyu]

tyirru (NC) *occiput, back of head*

tyirrwirliny (NC) *teardrop fruit, caper vine* [tyirrwu- (= Ny tyirrkku *thorn*) + -rli + -ny (2), see martimirri, also note Nm tyirrkuru *bush with prickles*]

tyirta (NC) *ritual gift as in the pirtarra* (see tyinytyi)

Tyirta (NP) *the Gifts (place name)* [< NC]

Tyirti (NP) *Cheedy Ned*

tyirtu (NC) *erection* [also Ku, but cf. Nm tyurtu and see Yi mirlamirla]

tyiruna (NC) *pelican*

tyitya- (NC) *bright, shiny*

tyityarilirri (NC) *pearl-shell pendant worn around the neck and/or hips during ceremonies* [tyitya- + -rli + -rri (1)]

tyiurra (NC) *bony bream (fish)* [cf. Nm tyikurra]

tyiwa- (VL) *cause to function*: 1. ----- nganangu: *wake someone* (OBJ) up 2. ----- thaluu: *operate a thalu* (OBJ) 3. ----- murtimaau: *drive a motorcar* (OBJ) [cf. Nm tyipa-]

tyiwarra (NC) 1. *white, light grey* 2. *light coloured tint* 3. *bright, silvery* 4. *clean* [tyiwa- (> yiwa) + -rra (S1)]

tyiwarrari- (VØ) *turn white* [tyiwarra (1) + -ri-]

tyiyarri- (VØ) *wait*, e.g. ----- nganangu: *wait for someone* (OBJ) [cf. Nm tyitharri-]

tyiyartarri- (VØ) *get bright* (see Text 30, sentence 2) [tyitya- + -rta (1) + -rri-]

-tyu (S) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

tyuka (NC) *borr. sugar* [< Eng, cf. WD tukatyi]

tyulu (NC) *all, everyone, everything, the lot*

tyumi (NC) *tender*: 1. *easily bruised* 2. *sore*

tyumpi- (VN) *squeeze* [cf. Nm tyumpi-, tyimpi-]

tyumpirirri (NC) *knife* [tyumpu- (> yumpu) + -ri + -rri (1), cf. Nm tyumpurirri and see Yi martimirri]

tyuna (NC) *kurdaitcha man (ritual assassin)*

tyuntaa (NR) *that way, (in) the manner observed or indicated*, e.g. watyi ----- + -rtu: *it's no good like that* [tyuntu + -ra (1a)]

tyuntaama- (VL) *do that*, e.g. mirta ----- + -kayi: *don't do that!* [tyuntaa + -ma-]



- tyuntaaparlu (I) *always* [tyuntaa + -parlu]
- tyuntaarna (I) = tyuntaa [tyuntaa + -rna (1)]
- tyuntu (NC) *way, manner*
- tyunturni (NC) *around that way* [tyuntu + -rni]
- tyunturnirri- (VØ) *come or go around that way* [tyunturni + -rri-]
- tyurlarr (NC) *milkweed pod* [tyurla- (< thurla [2]) + -rr (1)]
- tyurlaurtu (NC) *spinifex pigeon (has a topknot)* [tyurla- (< thurla [2]) + -ku (S) + -rtu (S1), cf. Nm tyurlakurtu]
- tyurlawirtinypirtiny (NC) *Sturt's desert pea* [tyurla- (< thurla [1]) + wirti- + -ny (2) + redup. -wirtiny, cf. Nm thurlamartamarta lit. *red eye* and note WD marlukurukuru lit. *kangaroo eyes*]
- Tyurli (NC) *obs. Perth*
- tyurliny (NC) 1. *intestine* 2. *hose*
- tyurna (NC) *club*
- tyurrawirn (NC) *yellow-fronted honeyeater* [cf. Nm tyurrapirn and Yi tyuti, see also kurlimpa]
- tyurtairri (NC) *red-backed kingfisher* [tyurta- + -ri + -rri (1), cf. Nm tyurtirirri *kingfisher* (see Yi marrarli) and thurtarrara *pelican*]
- tyurtu, pl. -pirri (NC) *native flower* (see purlaawa)
- tyurtun (NC) *peaked*
- tyurtutyurtu (NC) *fragrant* [tyurtu + redup. -tyurtu]
- tyurtuu (NC) *dust*
- tyuti (NC) *white-plumed honeyeater, native canary*
- tyutyiku (NC) *borr. shoe, boot* [tyuty- (< Eng shoes) + -tyi + -ku (S), see also matyirr]
- tyutyu (NP) *mature (man or person), old (fellow)* [cf. Nm tyullu]
- tyutyumaa (NC) *food which is prohibited to young people because it is thought to make them old* [tyutyu + -maa]
- tyuu- (NC) *head* [cf. Tj tyuru *head*]
- tyuumarta (NC) *red-naped snake* [tyuu- + marta]
- tyuurlurlu (NC) *with the head down, e.g. ----- pangkarri-: sneak* [tyuu- + -rlurlu]
- tyuurlurlurri- (VØ) *duck down* [tyuurlurlu + -rri-]
- tyuurri (NC) 1. *pigtail, queue* 2. *fur-string fringe on a nyankarturtu* [tyuu- + -rri (1)]

Tyuuthi (NC) *rare borr. Tuesday* [< Eng]

Tyuwarn (NC) *Bungarra Burrow, Magellanic Clouds*

tyuyu (NC) *light white smoke used to keep mosquitoes away*  
[cf. Nm tyutyu]

## U

-u (S) VOCATIVE SUFFIX [cf. Ny -ku]

-urru (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. Nm -kurru (see paru) and see  
-wathaa]

uu (NC) *borr. or* [< Eng]

-uu (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. Nm -kuru]

## W

waa (NC) 1a. *fear* 1b. *afraid, sacred, frightened* 2. *bnd. form go*  
[cf. Nm waya *afraid*, waka- (VØ) *go*]

waama- (VL) *scare, frighten* [waa (1b) + -ma-, cf. Nm wayaka-]

waarra- (VR) *follow hard upon someone's heels, track down, hunt*  
[waa- + -rra-]

waarri- (VØ) 1. *get scared, become frightened* 2. *look for, search*  
for [waa (1a) + -karri-, cf. Nm wayakarri-; waa- + -rri-]

waartarri- (VØ) *respect lang. = karlinytyarri-* [waa- + -rta (1)  
+ -rri-, cf. Nm wakartarri- *turn*]

waawurra (NC) *not tame, wild* [waa (1b) + -purra, cf. Nm wayapurra]

waayhu- (VL) *say good-bye (to)* [waa- + -yhu- (1)]

waayhunmarri- (VØ) *say good-bye to one another* [waayhu- + -nmarri-]

wakarlū (NC) *bloodwood gall* [cf. Nm wa[r]lkarlu, see kakurla]

wakurra (NC) *borr. crow* [< Nm, Ka; cf. Ny waakurra, Ppm \*waatya  
and see also Yi waurtu]

wala, obl. stem walaa- (PR) 1. *he, she, it* 2. *that near* [wa-  
THIRD PERSON MID-DISTANT + -la (3), cf. Nm palu, Ny pala, see also  
Yi nyinta]

wala (I) *not straight-forward*: 1. ----- *wanti-: look back*  
2. ----- *wangka-: tell a lie* 3. ----- *nhau-: watch surreptitiously,*  
*spy on*

walaa- (PR) see wala (PR) [wala (PR) + -ra (1a), cf. ngunhaa and  
also see ngaliya]

- walaakuyha (PC) 1. *they (in the same generation or in even ones)*  
2. *those two near* [walaa- + -kuyha]
- walaangkaa- (P) 1. *they* 2. *those several near* [walaa- + -ngku (2)  
+ -ra (1a), cf. nhungkaa-]
- walaangkaana (PI) *those several near ones* [walaangkaa- (2) + -na  
(1)]
- walaangkaat (PC) *those several near ones* [walaangkaa- (2) + -t  
(2)]
- walaangkaatu (PI) *those several near ones* [walaangkaa- (2) +  
-tu (C)]
- walaangkaatyirri (PC) 1. *they* 2. *those several near* [walaangkaa-  
+ -tyirri (2)]
- walaapi (PC) 1. *they (in adjacent or odd generations)* 2. *those  
two near* [walaa- + -pi (2)]
- walaarna (PI) *that one* [walaa- (2) + -rna (1)]
- walaart (PC) *that one* [walaa- (2) + -rt (1)]
- walaartu (PI) *that one* [walaa- (2) + -rtu (C2)]
- waluu (NC) *big rock* [cf. Nm waluru]
- wampu (NC) *bipointed throwing stake*
- wana (NC) 1. *vista, foreground* 2. *bnd. form long, tall* [see warna-]
- wanangkaa (NC) *whirlwind, willy-willy* (local term) [wana- + -ngku  
(3) + -ra (1a), cf. Nm wanangkura]
- wanangkaanyaa (NC) *depression in the middle of the lower back*  
[wanangkaa + -nyaa (1)]
- wanara (NC) *small bush with oval leaves and prickles used to make  
medicine for colds*
- wanarra (NC) 1. *long* 2. *tall* [wana- + -rra (S1)]
- wanarrari- (VØ) *get long(er) or tall(er)* [wanarra + -ri-]
- Wanaurarra (NC) *Milky Way* [wana- + -ku (S) + -ra (1a) + -rra (S1),  
cf. Nm Wanakurarra]
- wanayi- (VN) *clean*, e.g. ----- thungkayi: *remove the dirt* (OBJ)  
[cf. -yi-]
- wanga (NC) *armpit*
- wangarkaa (NC) *crow* [as if wanga + -r- + -kaa, see wakurra and  
waurtu, but also wangkina and mungarti]
- wangka (NC) 1. *speech: talk, discussion, story, information, etc.*  
2. *language: word, sentence, etc.*

- wangka- (VØ) 1. *speak, talk (about), say, tell, ask (a question), utter* 2. *make the sound characteristic of the producer, e.g.*  
wirti ----- + -Ø: *the bell is ringing*
- wangkanguli- (VØ) *be called* [wangka- (1) + -nguli- (2)]
- wangkarn (NC) 1. *light in weight* 2. *warrkam* -----: *light work*
- wangkarntyarri- (VØ) *become light(er)* [wangkarn + -tyarri-]
- wangkarr (NC) *throat* [wangka(-) + -rr (2)]
- wangkarrwanarra (NC) *camel* [wangkarr + wanarra (1)]
- wangkawaty (NC) *one who speaks broken English* [wangka (1) + waty (1)]
- wangkawima- (VL) *cause to talk, e.g.* ----- wangkay[h]arnrtuu:  
*turn on the radio* (OBJ) [wangka (1) + -pima-]
- wangkayarnrtu (NC) *radio, wireless* [wangka (1) + -ty- + -arnrtu]
- wangkayharnrtu (NC) = wangkayarnrtu [wangka (1) + -th- + -arnrtu]
- wangkayinytyarri- (VØ) *talk together, say to each other, converse, have a conversation* [wangka- (1) + -yinytyarri-]
- wangkayirraa- (VR) 1. *cause to talk* 2. *cause to make a noise*  
[wangka- + -yirraa-]
- wangkina (NC) *borr. crow* [< unknown source, cf. Wa waangkiti  
(note wangki speech), waangkarna]
- wangkuri (NC) *corner* [wangku- (app. < warnku) + -ri]
- wangkurru (NC) *salt water*
- wanhtha- (PR) = wanhthi- [cf. Ma wanhtha *where*]
- wanhtha- (VL) 1. ----- nganli uu nganangu: *leave something* (OBJ)  
*or someone* (OBJ) 2. *put, add* 3. *put up, erect, e.g.* ----- mayayi:  
*build a house* (OBJ) 4. ----- warnrtayi: *plant a tree* (OBJ)  
5. ----- wangkayi: *give information* (OBJ) [cf. Nm (VR) and see Yi  
payha-, note also PPM \*wanta-]
- wanhtharni (PC) 1. *where (to)* 2. *which way* 3. ----- ngarra: *how*  
[wanhtha- (PR) + -rni (2)]
- wanhtharniurru (NC) *rare var.* = wanhtharni [wanhtharni (1,2)  
+ -kurru]
- wanhtharta (PC) *when* [wanhtha- (PR) + -rta (2)]
- wanhthi- (PP) *which* [< \*wanytyi (see next entry) < PPM \*wanytya  
(see Yi kaarrwanytyi-) *where* (= Ka), see wanhtha- (PR)]
- wanhthila (PC) *where (at)* [wanhthi- + -la (1), cf. Nm wanytyila]
- wanhthilangu (PC) *where from* [wanhthila + -ngu (1a)]
- wanhthinha (PC) *which (one)* [wanhthi- + -nha (1)]

- wanhthiwa (PC) *how are you?* [wanhthi- + app. -pa (C1)]
- wanhthiwau (PC) *var. = wanhthiwayi* [wanhthiwa + -u]
- wanhthiwayi (PC) *how are you!* [wanhthiwa + -yi (S1)]
- wanhthiwartu (PC) ----- *nyinta: which mob do you belong to?*  
[wanhthi- + -partu (1)]
- wanka (NC) 1. *alive, living* 2. *not ripe, green* 3. *raw*
- wankama- (VL) 1. *bring to life, enliven* 2. *keep alive* [wanka (1) + -ma-]
- wankarri- (VØ) 1. *come to life* 2. *grow, live* [wanka (1) + -rri-]
- wanpayi (NC) *honey bee* [cf. Nm, Pn wanpari]
- wanpi- (VR) 1. *beat, strike, pound, hit with a held instrument*  
2. *fight (with)*, e.g. ----- nganangu: *beat someone (OBJ) up*
- wanpirnmarri- (VØ) *fight with each other* [wanpi- (2) + -rnmarri-]
- wanpirnpunhtharri (NC) *club* [wanpi- (1) + -rnpunhtharri]
- wanta (NC) 1. *insanity, madness* 2. *bnd. form apart, separate(d)*
- wanta (I) SEQUENTIAL COPULA: *and then, also, as well*
- wantaa (NC) *can, able*
- wantaarlaa (NC) *crazy, insane, mad* [wanta (NC) + -karlaa]
- wantama- (VL) *separate, divide* [wanta- + -ma-]
- wantamarri- (VØ) *take leave of one another, part* [wanta- + -marri-]
- wantawanta (NC) = wantaarlaa [wanta (NC) + redup. -wanta]
- wanti- (VØ) *wala -----: look back*
- wantya- (NC) *off, detached* [< \*wanytya-, see kaarrwanytyi-]
- wanyyarri- (VØ) *come off* [wantya- + -rri-, cf. Nm wanytyyarri-]
- wanyyaw- (VN) *detach, take off* [wantya- + -pi-, cf. Nm wanytyipi- (see marrarri)]
- wanu (NC) *fighting staff used by women* [cf. Nm wana, but also note Nr wan and WD wana *digging stick*]
- wanyaarri- (VØ) 1. *hear*, e.g. ----- wangkay[h]arnrtuu: *listen to the radio (OBJ)* 2. *understand* [< \*wanyakarri-, cf. Nm wanyaparri- and see Yi -kula, note also Wa pinakarri- *hear, pina ear*]
- wanyaarrinytyyarri- (VØ) *listen to each other* [wanyaarri- + -nytyyarri-]
- wanytya (NC) *dog*

wapa (NC) *borr.* = markurra [< Nm]

wara (NC) 1. *clothing in general (originally tanned skin), but particularly that covering the back, e.g. shirt or coat*  
2. *cloth* [cf. WD wararri shirt]

warama- (VL) 1. *make, construct* 2. *fix*: 2a. *prepare* 2b. *repair*  
3. ----- *thamayl: build or tend a fire* (OBJ) [cf. -ma-]

waramurrungka (NC) *flying fox (large fruit-eating bat)* [wara (1) + murru + -ngka (1)]

waranu (NC) *sweet substance (lerp) found covering the leaves of the river red gum* [wara (1) + -nu (1)]

wararr (NC) *teasing*

wararra (NC) *green and red string strung between the wands of the tyuna's headdress*

wararrwarni- (VØ) *tease* [wararr + -warni-]

wari (NC) *handle*

Wari (NP) *Yilbie King* [see preceding entry]

Warimpi (NC) 1. *Warambie Pool* 2. *Warambie Station*

warka (NC) *womb* [cf. Ku wartka, Pn warlka]

warla (NC) 1a. *heel* 1b. *butt end of a stone knife* 2. *bnd. form long straight piece of wood* 3. *bnd. form bird down*

warlanu (NC) *long wanu* [warla- (2) + -nu (1), cf. WD boomerang, walanu *throwing stick*]

warlarra, no pl. (NC) *karnku lang.* = pirtuwangu [warla- (3) + -rra (S1)]

warlarri (NC) *ghost gum (tree)* [warla- (2) + -rri (1), also Wa]

warlawurru (NC) *bird down* [cf. Nm eaglehawk down, WD eaglehawk, Ma warlartu (= Yi warla- [3] + -rtu [S1])]

warli (NC) 1. *lip* 2. *bnd. form clear, visible, light, bright* [cf. Ku lower lip, Nm lower lip, clear]

warlima- (VL) *clean a surface*: 1. *wipe* 2. *sweep*, e.g. ----- *ngurrayi: sweep the floor* (OBJ) [warli- + -ma-, cf. Nm warlika-]

warlimanpunhtharri (NC) 1. *dust rag* 2. *broom* [warlima- + -npunhtharri, cf. Nm warlikalpunhtharri]

warliwi (NC) *boy between the ages of about three and twelve* [warli + -pi (1), cf. Nm warlipi and see Yi tyayira]

warliwirti (NC) *lightning* [warli- + -pirtl (1), cf. Nm warlipirtl]

warlu (NC) *snake* [also Ku and Nm]

warlun (NC) *too slow, very slow*, e.g. ----- *pangkarri-: drag one's feet*

- warna- (NC) *ground* [cf. WD parna]  
 -warni- (VØ) INCHOATIVE VERBALISER [also Nm and therefore not  
 < parni- (4), but see also -karri- and -tyarri-]  
 warnku (NC) *bend, bent* [cf. Ku *elbow*]  
 warnkurla (NC) *elbow* [warnku + -rla]  
 warnma, pl. -rtarri (NC) *puppy*  
 warnrta (NC) 1. *plant: tree, bush, shrub* 2. *trunk, main ascending branch* 3. *stick, e.g. yumpu* ---- (yurrarnpuntharri): *digging stick* 4. *wood* [cf. WD warta]  
 warnrtanyungu (NC) 1. *tree-dweller* 2. *comb honey in a tree*  
 [warnrta (1,2) + -nyungu]  
 Warnrtarri (NP) *Mick Lee*  
 warnrtawarnrta (NC) *children's python, tree snake* (Aboriginal English) [warnrta (1) + redup. -warnrta]  
 warnrti (NC) 1. *penis* 2. ---- puwa: *insulting epithet for a man* [cf. karnti, warnrta (see purna)]  
 warnrtiarlaa (NC) *male* [warnrti (1) + -karlaa]  
 warnrtura (NC) *various, all the different*  
 warnrturla (NC) *magpie* [see wartumalu]  
 warpa- (VL) *respect lang.* = kanangkarri-  
 warparra (NC) *rare woomera, spear thrower* [cf. Nm, WD warlparra and see section 1.1.3 in the Grammar]  
 -warrangu (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [cf. Ny -karrangu and see also Yi maanu]  
 warrapa, pl. -wirti (NC) 1. *grass, weed* 2. *coll. tobacco of poor quality*  
 warrapaarra (NC) *grassed over, grassy* [warrapa (1) + -karra (1)]  
 warrayi (NC) *bush fly* [also Ku, cf. Pn, Pl warrari]  
 warrayi- (VN) *drag* [cf. Nm warrkayi-]  
 warrayimarta (NC) *small red fly-eating lizard* [warrayi + -marta (Sla), but see also tyuumarta]  
 warrimayi (NC) *rare grassy plain* [cf. Nm warrimari]  
 warrinyin (NC) *painted finch* [cf. Nm warrinyan and see punytyi]  
 warriwinti (NC) *rare borr. boomerang* [< Ku warruwinti (see Yi martimirri), cf. Pn warrkunti and see also Yi kurriyarta]  
 warrkam, obl. stem warrkamu- (NC) *borr. work* [< Eng work 'm, see also payllam]

- warrkama- (VL) var. = warrkamarni- [warrkam + -ma-, see also payilama-]
- warrkamarni- (VØ) *work (on)* [warrkamu- + -rni-, see also payilamarni-]
- warrkamu- (NC) see warrkam [back formation from free form, see also payilamu-]
- warrkamurri- (VØ) *be working* [warrkamu- + -rri-, see also payilamurri-]
- warrki (NC) *possum, tree 'roo* (Aboriginal English) [cf. Pn walki]
- warrkungu (NC) *plum bush*
- Warrmarla (NC) *borr. Aboriginal people of the Western Desert* [*< WD soldier, warrior*]
- warru (NC) 1. *black, dark grey, brown* 2. *dark coloured*  
3. *dull* 4. *dirty* 5. *night*
- Warru (NP) *Blackie (Gilbert Bobby's dog)* [*< NC1*]
- warruma- (VL) *thamayi -----: put out a fire* (OBJ) [warru (3) + -ma-, cf. Nm warruka-]
- warrumpu (NC) *species of milkweed vine bearing long slender pods, silky stringbean, runner bean* (Aboriginal English)
- warrungkamu (I) *tomorrow* [warru (5) + -ngka (1) + -mu (3b)]
- warrunha (I) *black one, e.g. crow* [warru (1) + -nha (1b)]
- warrura (NC) *dark, e.g. ----- marnrta: dark mountain* (see Text 68, paragraph 1, sentence 4) [warru (2) + -ra (1b)]
- warrurnparrurn (NC) *blowfly, bluefly* [warru (2) + -rn + redup. -warrurn, see section 2.2.5 in the Grammar]
- warrururka (NC) = warruurka [warru (1) + -ru + -r- + -ka]
- warruurka (NC) *black monitor* [*< warrururka*]
- warruurraa (NC) *last light, twilight* [warru (5) + -purraa]
- warruwarni- (VØ) *turn black* [warru (1) + -warni-]
- warruwarru (NC) *dark* (see Text 54, sentence 9) [warru (2) + redup. -warru]
- warruwarrulamu (I) *first light* [warru (5) + redup. -warru + -la (1) + -mu (3b), cf. Nm warruwarrulalli]
- warrwa, obj. -yi, loc. -ngka, abl. -ngu, no all. (use nom.) (N) *far, distant, in the distance, long way, away* [cf. Nm warrpa]
- warrwu (NC) *adolescent kangaroo trailing behind its mother* [cf. Nm warrku]
- warta- (NDn) *north*



- wartantarni (NC) *from the north* [warta- + -n + -tu (S) + -rni (1), cf. Ma wartantu (= Yi wartat), Pn warta(r)nkura (= Yi wartakurru)]
- wartanyaa (NC) *bladder* [< kuwartanyaa (= kuwarta + -nyaa [1])] ]
- Wartayi (NP) 1. *Wilson Wally* 2. *Claude Bobby* (see nyawaru)
- wartirra (NC) *Aboriginal woman*
- wartu, pl. -wirri (NC) *very soft spinifex*
- wartumalu (NC) *flock of crows* [wartu- (app. < warru [1]) + -malu, see warrunha, but also warnrturla (and warnrta)]
- waru (NC) 1. *dead-end, cul-de-sac, e.g. inside wall with no door or window* 2. *bottom of a container*
- waruma (NC) *common ant* [poss. waru (2) + -ma (1)]
- watharn (NC) 1a. *green leaf* 1b. *leafy bough* 2. *lung* [cf. Nm walharn lung, Pn leaf]
- wathawara (NC) *borr. trousers, pants* [< Nm (= Yi wayha [2] + wara)]
- wathurri (NC) *girl between the ages of three and sixteen* [cf. Nm wal[h]urri]
- waty (NC) 1. *bad, no-good* 2. *evil* 3. *foul, e.g. ----- wangka: foul language* 4. *sour* [waty- + -tyl, cf. Pl, WD walli, Nm wallka, WD wallku]
- watyikarta (NC) 1. *big, large* 2. *thick* 3. ----- *marnrta: tall mountain* [cf. Pn wallikarta (= Yi watyi)]
- watyikartarri- (VØ) *get big or thick* [watyi (1,2) + -rri-]
- watyima- (VL) 1. *make bad, mess up* 2. *do evil to* 3. *defile, pollute, foul* [watyi (1,2,3) + -ma-]
- watymarri- (VØ) *foul one another* [watyi (3) + -marri-]
- watyirr (NC) *fish spear*
- watyiwarni- (VØ) 1. *go bad* 2. *become evil* [watyi (1,2) + -warni-]
- watypa- (VL) *detach, take off* [also Ku]
- watypala (NC) *borr. whiteman, Caucasian* [waty- (< Eng) + -pala, but cf. Nm, WD wallpala]
- watyparri- (VØ) *come off* [watypa- + -rri-]
- watyurru (NC) *species of milkweed vine bearing paired horn-shaped pods* [cf. Nm wallurru]
- waunpaun (NC) *mopoke owl* [poss. wa- + -u (= hoo!, see pau) + -n + redup. -waun, see also warrunparrurn]
- waurta (NC) *armpit hair* [cf. Ka wakurtu armpit, Ppm \*waatyu and also note Nm wakurla rockhole]

wawartu (NC) *halo around the moon* [cf. Nm wakartu]

Wawuny (NP) *Eric Diamond*

wayawi (NC) *green grasshopper* [waya- (= wayha [2]) + -pi (1),  
cf. Nm, Ny watyapi]

wayha (NC) 1. *storm* 2. *rare leg* [cf. Nm watha *leg, cloud*]

wayharri- (VØ) *look for, search for* [wayha (2) + -rri-, cf. Nm  
watharri-]

-wayi (S) 1. POTENTIALITY SUFFIX 2. POTENTIAL MOOD MARKER  
[cf. Pn -katyi VERB SUFFIX, WD -kitya]

-wayingu (S) IRREALIS MOOD MARKER [-wayi (2) + -ngu (2), cf. Nm  
-katyinguru]

wayiny- (NC) *returning* [see karliny]

wayinyma- (VL) *not com. take back, bring back, return* [wayiny-  
+ -ma-]

wayinytyarri- (VØ) *not com. get back, come back, go back, return*  
[wayiny- + -tyarri-, cf. Ku warinytyarri-]

wayu (NC) *straight*

wayuma- (VL) 1. *straighten* 2. *keep straight* [wayu + -ma-]

wayuwarra (NC) *hare-wallaby, spinifex 'roo* (Aboriginal English)  
[cf. Nm watyuwarra]

Wiimat (NC) 1. *Weymul Pool* 2. *Chiratta Station* [see yiimit]

wiirrirri (NC) *blue wren* [cf. minpirrirri]

Wikam, obl. stem Wikamu- (NC) *borr. Wickham* [< Eng]

Wikamu- (NC) see Wikam [back formation from free form, see payliamu-]

wila- (NC) 1. *walk* 2. *float*

wila- (VR) *float* [< NC2]

wilanngarti (NC) *baby which has just learned to walk* [wila- (NC1)  
+ -n + ngarti]

wilarra (NC) 1. *moon* 2. *month* 3. *semicircular image in the rock*  
*near the purnrtut* [wila- (NC2) + -rra (S1)]

wilayi (NC) ----- pangkarri-: *go for a walk* [wila- (NC1) + app.  
-yi (C1)]

wilikarri (NC) *borr. nymph, female sprite* [< Nm *siren (water*  
*spirit)*, see also Yi minytyiarri]

wiliwili (NC) *fishhook* [wili- (= WD *grub hook*) + redup. -wili]

wilkurtu (NC) *borr. mangumangu having a point with three edges* [< Nm]

- wilu (NC) *blackheart tree*
- wilumarra (NC) *bush stone-curlew* [wilu- (= Nr, cf. WD wiilu) + -marra]
- Wimiya (NP) *Wimiya King*
- Winithi (NC) *rare borr. Wednesday* [< Eng]
- winkaru (NC) *stripe-tail monitor* [cf. -ru]
- winpa- (VØ) 1. *follow, chase* 2. pawa ----- + -Ø ngurrangka:  
*water is running along the ground* (LOC) [note Pn, Pl winpa- run]
- winpiri (NC) *long, flexible and slender like a whip or wire*  
 [cf. Nm wipiri]
- winta (NC) *borr. window* [< Eng]
- winya (NC) 1. *full-measure, e.g. ----- pawa pakita: full-measure of water* (NOM) *in the bucket* (LOC) 2. *full, e.g. pakit ----- pawayi: full bucket of water* (OBJ) [also Ku, Nm and Pn]
- winyama- (VL) 1. *put a liquid, e.g. ----- pawayi pakita: put water* (OBJ) *into a bucket* (LOC) 2. *fill, e.g. ----- pakitku pawawari: fill a bucket* (OBJ) *with water* (COM) [winya + -ma-]
- winyamarangka (NC) *borr. sea eagle* [app. < Ma, but cf. Yi marntamarangka]
- winyangu (S) *full of* [winya (2) + -ngu (1c)]
- winyarr (NC) *red rock fig*
- winyawarni- (VØ) *get full* [winya (2) + -warni-]
- winytyurn (NC) *topknot, crest*
- wirka (NC) *gap* [cf. Nm wirlka]
- wirkaa (NC) *yoke of the shoulder* [cf. Nm wirlkara]
- wirkaalama- (VL) ----- nganii: *rest something* (OBJ) *on one's shoulder, sling something* (OBJ) *over one's shoulder* [wirkaa + -la (1) + -ma-]
- wirlukuru (NC) *grease, lard, drippings* [as if wirlu- + -ku (S) + -ru]
- wirlukurumirtayi (NC) *gravy* [wirlukuru + -mirtayi]
- wirna (NC) *tired*
- wirnama- (VL) *make tired, tire* [wirna + -ma-]
- wirnowarni- (VØ) *get tired* [wirna + -warni-]
- wirnka (NC) *whistle*
- wirnka- (VØ) *whistle* [< PPN \*wirnpa-, cf. Ny wi[r]npalpi- (VL)]

- wirnkartirti (NC) *music and song*: 1. ----- + -la parni-: *whistle and sing* 2. ----- + -la parni- mirrimpawari: *play the native fiddle* (COM) and *sing* [wirnka + -rtirti]
- wirnrta (NC) 1. *soft sweet white water chestnut* 2. *bnd. form spear* [cf. WD winta spear]
- wirnrta- (VL) 1. *cut* 2a. *tear* 2b. *tear into*, e.g. ----- nganangu: *pick a fight with or attack someone* (OBJ) 3. *break* [cf. T1 wurnrta- and see Yi mirlamirla]
- wirnrta- (NC) *mulga (a tree from which spears are made)* [wirnrta- (NC) + -marra, cf. WD wintamarra]
- wirnrta- (NC) *wands used to decorate the tyuna's headband* [wirnrta- (NC) + redup. -wirnrta, but see also warnrta (3)]
- wirnrta- (NC) *chickenhawk, collared hawk (a swooping raptor)* [app. < wirtlwirti (3), see also thathamarnrta]
- wirpinykaa, pl. -wirti (NC) *tall river spinifex* [cf. Nm wiripinykura and also Yi parkarranykaa]
- wirra (NC) *boomerang* [cf. Nm wirrpa, but see also Yi warrwa]
- wirrangkaa (NC) *river red gum (tree)* [cf. Nm wirrangkura and also WD wurrankura]
- wirrangkaarra (NC) *filled with river red gums*, e.g. Wirrangkaarra Parkarra: *Gum Tree Valley* [wirrangkaa + -karra (1)]
- wirrarli (NC) *collarbone* [wirra + -rili]
- wirrart (NC) *feelings, emotions*
- wirrartkarlaa (NC) *loved one* [wirrart + -karlaa]
- wirrartparriri- (VØ) *get sick of* (see Text 43, sentence 1) [wirrart + -parriri-]
- wirrarttyarri- (VØ) *feel like* [wirrart + -tyarri-]
- Wirrawanti (NC) *borr. Weerawandie Plain* (see Text 77) [wirra + Ma wanti place]
- wirri (NC) 1. *play*, e.g. ----- + -ngka parni-: *be at play* (LOC) 2. *game, sport*
- wirri (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [< -pirri (S2)]
- wirrili (NC) *in a straight path* [cf. -li (1)]
- wirrima- (VL) *var. = wirriwarni-* (2) [wirri (1) + -ma-]
- wirriwarni- (VØ) 1. *be playing* 2. ----- wirrii, yuyumaau: *play a game* (OBJ) or *musical instrument* (OBJ) [wirri (1) + -warni-]
- Wirrma (NP) *Jack Ray*
- wirrura (NC) *rare quick, fast*

- wirruu (NC) 1. *different* 2. *wrong* 3. *funny*
- wirruulamu (I) *last, the other, e.g. ----- yurrangka: the other day, ----- muyhungka: last year, several years ago* [wirruu (1) + -la (1) + -mu (3a), cf. following entry]
- wirruulawayhu (I) ----- yurrangka: *several days later* [wirruu (1) + -la (1) + -pa (C2) + -yhu (2b), cf. preceding entry]
- wirrwi (NC) 1. *air* 2. *wind* [cf. Pn wirrpi]
- wirrwiwurra (NC) *upwind* [wirrwi (2) + -purraa]
- wirta (NC) 1. *leg, specifically the lower part* 2. *young man* [cf. Wa warta *shin*, see also warnta]
- wirtany (NC) *path, esp. one made by a kangaroo* [wirta (1) + -ny (2)]
- wirti (NC) 1. *bell* 2. *bnd. form hang, swing, bob* [cf. Tr wurtiya- (VL) *hang up*, WD urtityu- (VN) and see Yi martimirri]
- wirti (S) PLURAL NUMBER MARKER [< -pirti (S2)]
- wirtinytyirr (NC) *pipet (a small bird which continually bobs its tail up and down)* [see tyarpinytyarr, marnntaampirr]
- wirtirri- (VØ) ----- nganii: *climb something* (OBJ) [< wirta (1) + -rri-, cf. Ma wirta- (VØ) and see the first footnote in section 2.2.6 in the Grammar]
- wirtiwirtaa- (VL) 1. *hang (up)* 2. *be hanging* [wirtiwirti (1) + -ka-]
- wirtiwirti (NC) 1. *hanging, suspended* 2. *swinging* 3. *bobbing, swooping* [wirti- + redup. -wirti, cf. WD iwirtiwirti]
- Wirtiya (NP) 1. *Weerianna Hill* 2. *Weerianna Mine* 3. *Weerianna Youth Hostel*
- wirtiangu (NC) *species of tree the limbs of which are used to make corroboree wands*
- wiru (NC) *cockatyl*
- witypa (NC) *species of tree - bearing inedible blue four-lobed berries - which is used for making baby cradles*
- Witypa (NP) *Jerry Jerrold* [< NC]
- wiya- (NC) *look* [cf. Pn wiya- (VL)]
- wiyangarra (NC) *barn owl* [wiya- + ngarra, cf. nhaungarra]
- wiyanu (NC) *hunting, e.g. ----- pangkarri- nganii uu nganingka: go hunting something* (OBJ) *or for something* (LOC) [wiya- + -nu (1)]
- wiyha (NC) *saliva, spit* [cf. Pl witha, Nm witharla]
- wiyhangkaa- (VL) *spit* [wiyha + -ngka (1) + -ka-]

- wula- (VR) wuluu -----: *dislocate the hind legs* (OBJ) (*of an animal in preparation for cooking in an earth oven*) [cf. Nm (VL), note Yi wila- (VR) and see also tyanka- and payha-]
- wularni (NC) *from the west* (see ngunthirni[ngu]) [wulu- + -rni (1), see karrwarn]
- wulu (NC) *thigh* [cf. Nm wulukarli]
- wulu- (NDs) *west*
- wuluyurri- (VØ) *get to be in the west* [wulu- + -yu (S1) + -rri-]
- wungka- (VØ) rare ----- nganangu: *scavenge from someone* (OBJ), *follow someone around picking up what he has thrown away* (see Text 73, paragraph 3, sentence 10) [poss. < \*wangku-, cf. Wa waa- (VNG) *follow* and see Yi yungku-]
- wungku (NC) *windbreak* [cf. WD wuungku]
- wungkurru (NC) *roaring noise such as that made by the wind* (see Text 77, paragraph 1, sentences 4 and 5) [wungku + -rru (2)]
- wuntharri (NC) *grey teal (duck)*
- wuntu (NC) 1. *river* 2. *river bed* 3. *gorge*
- wupu (NC) *box, container* [also Nm]
- wurra (NC) *hailstone* [also Nm]
- wurru (NC) *dressing screen, partition*
- wurruru (NC) *midwife* [as if wurru + -ru]
- wurta (NC) *emu chick* [cf. WD wutu and see Yi tyawurta]
- wuthurrunga- (VL) ----- paway!: *blow water* (OBJ) *out of the mouth in a spray* (see Text 54, sentence 4) [cf. Nm wullurpuyu[ng]ka- (VL) (= wullurr- + puyungka- [VL] *blow*)]
- Wutli (NP) *borr. Woodley King* [< Eng]
- wuungu (NC) *social section, marriage class*
- Wuyhumarri (NC) *Gregory Gorge* [cf. -marri]
- wuyurrkaa (NC) *easy, lit. like nothing* [wuyurr- (< \*wu(t)yul > wuyut [1]) + -kaa]
- wuyut (NC) 1. *amounting to nothing, e.g. yuntu parnrtaku -----: it is sprinkling* 2. *for nothing, e.g. ngayi ----- parni nhunthi: I am sitting here for no real reason*

## Y

yaa- (NDs) *east* [cf. Nm yira-]

-yaa (S) 1. POSSIBILITY SUFFIX 2. OPTATIVE MOOD MARKER [cf. WD -tyaku VERB SUFFIX]

yaala (NC) 1. *now* 2. *just* [yiya- + -la (1), cf. Ma yiyala, Nm yityala]

yaarni (NC) *from the east* (see ngunhthirni[ngu]) [yaa- + -rni (1)]

yakayi (NC) *ou(ch), (y)ow* [yaka- + -yi (S1), cf. Ku yakarti, Dy yakay]

yakayinykarri- (VØ) *call out in pain, moan, groan, yowl* [yakayi + -ny (2) + -karri-]

yalarri, pl. -wirti (NC) *fan-top rush*

yali (NC) *spinifex ear*

yamarti (NC) *on one's own, by oneself* [also Ku, but cf. Nm yika, Pn yikamarta (and also yikamarnta)]

yamparla (NC) *sweet variety of katpayl*

-yangaarnu (S) PASSIVE PERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [-yangu + -ra- + -rnu (2)]

-yangu (S) DEPENDENT IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKER [-ya- (= Tr) + -ngu (2)]

yangupala (NC) *borr. young (fellow), youth* [yangu- (< Eng) + -pala, but see also yiyangu, wartanyaa]

yankarr (NC) *sound, noise*

yanta (NC) *lean-to*

yanti (NC) 1. *hollow log* 2. *wooden vessel*

Yanti (NP) *app. borr. Yaandina (creche)* [cf. Nm yantiyarra (= Yi mirrurtula)]

Yantimpurrwa (NP) *Harold and Cheedy Ned's country* [cf. yanti (1) and pilampurrwa, but be sure to see kantipil]

Yantiyarra (NC) *borr. 1. Yandearra Station 2. Yandearra Reserve* [< Ka, see Yanti]

Yapurarra (NC) *borr. Ngarluma group that used to dwell in the Nickol Bay area* [< Nm (= Yi yawu- + -ra [1] + -rra [S1]), cf. Yi nhankararra]

yarnkarra (NC) *broilga, native companion, Australian crane (recent immigrant from the north)* [cf. tyarnkarra and see tyumpirirri]

yarnrtirr (NC) *crack, fissure, trench*

yarra (NC) *shield* [cf. Ny rlarra and see also Yi yirra]

yarra- (VR) *chase* [ya- (NC) (cf. PPN \*ya- [VN] *go*) + -rra-,  
cf. Ku yanki- (VØ) *go*, Pl yana- and see Yi waarra-]

-yarra (S) = -karra

yarralany (NC) *native water lily* [cf. Nm yarrkalany, but see Yi yarrwarlanykaa and note wirra]

yarramirtangka (NC) *ox-eye herring* [cf. yirratharnangka, Nm mirtamirta *white*, but also see Yi yarralany]

yarrwa- (NC) *water*

yarrwarlanykaa (NC) *large species of tandan (eel-tail catfish)*  
[yarrwa- + -rla + -ny (2) + -kaa, cf. Nm yarrpara]

yarrwatha (NC) *sweat* [yarrwa- + -tha]

yarrwatharri- (VØ) *sweat* [yarrwatha + -rri-, see purlaalarri-]

yarrwayi (NC) *species of wild tobacco growing near water*  
[yarrwa- + -ri]

yarta (NC) *plenty*

Yartanymarra (NP) *name of an emu-man who was very randy* [cf. Purlinytylrrmarra]

yartiwi (NC) *carp-gudgeon (tiny fish)*

yarungu (NC) 1. *wife's sister, man's brother's wife* 2. *husband's brother, woman's sister's husband* [yaru- (= Ka father's sister) + -ngu (1a), cf. Nm yarityi (respect lang.) mother's brother]

yatha (NC) *canopy*

yathu- (NC) *tongue*

yathumpa (NC) *borr. flathead (fish)* [< Nm, Ma]

yathurnrtaa- (VL) *lick* [yathu- + -rn + -la (1) + -ka-]

yathuu (NC) *tongue* [yathu- + -ru, cf. Nm, Pn yaihuru]

yawan (NC) *cooking stone* [cf. Nm yapan]

yawantaa- (VL) ----- thurnuu pattyarriu: *put cooking stones inside* (OBJ) a euro (OBJ) [yawan + -la (1) + -ka-]

yawarta (NC) *borr. horse* [also Nm, WD, Nr]

yawu- (NDn) *downstream* [cf. Nm yapu-]

yawurrarni (NC) *from downstream* (see ngunhthirni[ngu]) [yawu- + -rru (1) + -rni (1), cf. Nm yapurru (= Yi yawut) and see Yi wularni]



yayintarri- (VØ) *wobble* [cf. -rri-]

yayu (NP) 1. *stepmother who is older sister to real mother*  
2. *mother's older sister* 3. *father's older brother's wife*

-yha- (S) STEM FORMATIVE [< obs. loc. case marker for laminal stems]

-yhu- (VL) 1. FACTITIVE VERBALISER 2. CAUSATIVE VERBALISER [cf. Nm  
-tha- and see next entry]

-yhu (C) DETERMINER: 1a. *particular, certain* 1b. *the, that* 2a. *if*  
2b. *then* [cf. Nm -tha and see preceding entry]

-yi- (VN) FACTITIVE VERBALISER [cf. Nm -tyi-]

-yi (S) 1. VOCATIVE SUFFIX 2. POTENTIAL MOOD MARKER [also Nm,  
cf. WD -ya VOCATIVE SUFFIX and Ppm -\*yi VERB SUFFIX]

-yi (C) 1. OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER 2. DEICTIC CLITIC 3. NOMINATIVE  
CASE MARKER [cf. Pn -yu OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER]

yiimit (NC) *itchy* (be sure to see the first footnote in Text 4)

yiimittyarri- (VØ) *get itchy* [yiimit + -tyarri-]

yilam, obl. stem yilamu- (NC) *borr. lamb* [app. < Eng he-lamb]

yilamu- (NC) see yilam [back formation from free form, see  
payilamu-]

yili- (NC) *stripe*

yilimpirraa (NC) *mudlark, peewit* [as if yill- + -mpi + -rri (1)  
+ -ra (1a), also Ku, but cf. Nm yilinprrira and see Yi nyimpa-]

yilin (NC) *thin and flat (like a shingle rock or coin)*

yilintyarri- (VØ) *get thin(ner)* [yilin + -tyarri-]

yilirr (NC) *spinning machine*

yiliwayi (NC) *rainbow* [yili- + -payi, cf. Ka yilikutyi, Yi kayawayi]

yimpaa- (VL) *pass, go past, miss* [cf. Nm tyimpayika-, see also  
Yi yiwa]

yinara (NC) *playmate*

-yingu (S) IRREALIS MOOD MARKER [-yi (S2) + -ngu (2)]

yini (NC) *name*

yini (I) 1. *just, only* 2a. *until, e.g. warruu -----: until dark*  
(OBJ) 2b. *as far as, e.g. Tyatyirrau -----: as far as Robe*  
*River* (OBJ)

ynima- (VL) *speak a name, name* [yini (NC) + -ma-]

ynirirri (NC) *method of killing employing the person's name*  
[yini (NC) + -ri + -rri (1)]

Yinpal (NP) *Coppin Dale*

Yinpirrpa (NP) *Long Mack*

yinta (NC) 1. *pool* 2. *rare thunder*

yintarri- (VØ) *thunder* [yinta (2) + -rri-]

yinti- (VØ) *descend and remain in sight*: 1a. yuntu ----- + -Ø:  
*rain is coming down* 1b. pawa ----- + -Ø: *water is running down*  
 1c. ----- nganingkangu: *get down from something* (ABL)  
 2. ----- marnrtaiyi: *go down a mountain* (OBJ)

yintirr (NC) *water-boatman (kind of diving beetle)* [yinti- + -rr (2)]

yintyirr (NC) *cruel*

yintyirrma- (VL) ----- nganii: *do something* (OBJ) *cruel*  
 [yintyirr + -ma-]

yintyirrwarni- (VØ) *become cruel* [yintyirr + -warni-]

-yinytyarri- (VØ) RECIPROCAL VERBALISER [-yi- STEM FORMATIVE +  
 -nytyarri-]

Yinytyiparnrti (NC) *Yindjibarndi* [cf. Tl -parnrnti from]

yirnrnti (NC) *forehead* [also Ku]

yirnrntiwirri- (VØ) *peep out* [yirnrnti + -pi (1) + -rri-]

yirra (NC) 1a. (*sharp*) *edge* 1b. *tooth* 2. *bnd. form sound, noise*  
 [cf. Ppm \*rirra *tooth*, Yi yinta (2) and see also -rra (C)]

-yirraa- (VR) CAUSATIVE VERBALISER [-tyirri (1) + -ra-, cf. Nm  
 -tyirrima- and also see Yi -pima-]

yirraama- (VL) *sing* [yirra- + -ru + -ma-, cf. Ka yirraru *song*]

Yirramakartu (NP) *borr.* 1. *Jubilee Pool* 2. *Roebourne* [< Nm,  
 cf. Yi yurrama (1) and see wirrangkaa]

yirrangu (NC) *kind of cherty light-yellow stone (used to make  
 blades)* [yirra (1a) + -ngu (1c)]

yirrapuwa (NC) *poor hunter* [app. yirra (1a) + puwa (1), see  
 kurnmairti]

yirrarla (NC) 1. *obs. square of calico (white sheet)* 2. *obs. sail*  
 3. *groundsheet* [app. yirra (1a) + -rla]

yirrarlamaya (NC) *tent* [yirrarla (3) + maya]

yirratharnangka (NC) *borr. shark* [< Nm (= Yi yirra [1a] +  
 tharnangka)]

yirrauyu (NC) *thunderstorm* [yirra- + -ku (S) + app. -tyu, but  
 cf. Nm yirrakutyi and see Yi tyayumarta]

yirri- (NC) *board*

- yirrila (NC) *cicada* [yirri- (app. < yirra-) + -la (2)]
- yirrima- (VL) ----- warntayi: *chop out a section of wood from a tree* (OBJ) (see Text 55, sentence 6) [yirri- + -ma-, cf. WD yirrilmarl *sacred carved board*]
- yirringan (NC) *river wattle* [yirri- + -nga + -n]
- yirriri (NC) *sick, sore*
- yirririma- (VL) *make sick* [yirrirri + -ma-]
- yirriringu (NC) *recovered, well again* [yirriri + -ngu (1a)]
- yirririrri- (VØ) *get sick, start aching* [yirrirri + -rri-]
- yirrka (NC) *nail on finger or toe* [also Ku, cf. WD tyilka *prickle* and see Yi yiwa]
- yirrwa- (VØ) *scratch* [cf. Nm yirrpa- (VØ)]
- yirryiwartu (NC) *native (marsupial) cat* [cf. -partu]
- yirti- (NC) *line* [poss. < yurti-, see martimirri]
- yirtiny (NC) *queue, file, line* [yirti- + -ny (2)]
- yirtinya (NC) *coral tree, red-seed wood* (Aboriginal English) [cf. yirringan, kurkanyan]
- yirtinykarra (NC) *lined up, queued up, in a row* [yirtiny + -karra (1)]
- yirtinykarrari- (VØ) *get lined up* [yirtinykarra + -ri-]
- yirtirti (NC) *oil* [see murturtu]
- yirtityirri (NC) *black-tipped worm snake, two-headed worm snake (small burrowing snake which leaves an elevated trail through the loose sand)* [yirti- + -tyirri (S1)]
- yirtiya (NC) *road* [yirti- + -tya]
- yirtiyanan (NC) *shire council (in charge of maintaining roads)* [yirtiya + -nan]
- yithi (NC) *chip, shaving* [cf. Nm yilhi]
- yithiyarra (NC) *two brothers who are being initiated at the same time* [cf. marnrtiyarra]
- Yityangu (NP) *Ejong* [see ylyangu]
- yityirti (NC) *rivulet, small stream*
- Yityirti (NP) *New Village (new suburb of Roebourne where many Aborigines live)* [< NC]
- yiwa (NC) *white ash* (see kurnarra) [cf. Nm yipa and Pn tyipa (see yimpaa-)]

- yiwarta (NC) *ashes* [yiwa + -rta (1), but cf. yuwarta]  
 yiya- (NP) *present time*  
 yiyangu (NC) *new, fresh* [yiya- + -ngu (1c), cf. Nm yityangu]  
 -yu (S) 1. ALLATIVAL LOCATIVE CASE MARKER 2. OBJECTIVE CASE MARKER  
 [cf. Nm -tyu]  
 -yu (C) *poss. borr.* = -yhu [< Ku, but see also Yi -ty-]  
 yumini (NP) *var.* = yumuni [< base form, see martimirri]  
 yumpu (NC) 1. *sharp*, e.g. yirra -----: *sharp edge* 2. *pointy*,  
*pointed*, e.g. mutha -----: *sharp point*  
 yumuni (NP) 1. *stepfather who is older brother to real father*  
 2. *father's older brother* 3. *mother's older sister's husband*  
 yunayi- (VN) *respect lang.* = yungku- [< \*yunyayi-, cf. -yi-;  
 Pn, Pl yinya- (VØ) < \*yunya- < past tense of the obs. form \*yu-  
 (VNG), note also Ny yu-, yi- (VNG) *give* and see next entry]  
 yungku- (VØ) *give* [< pres. tense of the obs. form \*yu- (VNG),  
 see also preceding entry]  
 yungkunytyarri- (VØ) *pass something back and forth or around*  
 [yungku- + -nytyarri-]  
 yuni- (VØ) *descend and disappear from sight*: 1a. yurra ----- + -Ø:  
*the sun is setting* 1b. ----- pawangka: *sink deep into the water*  
 (LOC) 2. ----- purpaau: *go down (the other side of) a rise* (OBJ)  
 yuntu (NC) *rain* [cf. Nm yungu; also WD yunturpa *cloud*]  
 yurala (NC) *rainmaker* [yura- (cf. WD yuru *puddle*) + -la (2)]  
 yurarr (NC) *direction marker*  
 yurlayurla (NC) *haze* [yurla- + redup. -yurla]  
 Yurlpurr (NP) *borr. Python Pool* [< Nm]  
 yurlu (NC) 1a. *nothing, none, nil, no*, e.g. ----- pawa pakita:  
*no water is in the bucket* (LOC) 1b. *zero, null* 2. *empty*,  
 e.g. ----- pakit pawayi: *empty bucket of water* (OBJ)  
 yurluma- (VL) 1a. *finish* 1b. *use up* 1c. *spend* 2. *empty*  
 [yurlu + -ma-]  
 yurluwarni- (VØ) 1. *become finished, come to an end* 2. *become*  
*empty* [yurlu + -warni-]  
 yurluwarra- (VR) *have nothing* [yurlu (1a) + ka- + -rra-]  
 yurni- (VN) *call over, beckon to*  
 yurnrtaa (NC) 1. *crushed, smashed into tiny pieces* 2. *flour*  
 [cf. Nm yurnrtura]  
 yurnrtaama- (VL) *crush, smash into tiny pieces* [yurnrtaa (1) + -ma-]

- yurnrtaarri- (VØ) *get crushed or smashed into tiny pieces*  
[yurnrtaa (1) + -rri-]
- yurnrtiri (NC) *nasty, in a foul mood*
- yurnrtumarnu (NC) *app. now and again* (see Text 75, paragraph 5, sentence 2)
- yurra (NC) 1. *sun* 2a. *morning* 2b. *day*
- yurra- (VR) *dig (up or out)* [cf. Ku *scratch*]
- yurrama (NC) 1. *soak* 2. ----- *watyikarta: well* [yurra- (NC) *dig* (see preceding entry) + -ma (1)]
- yurratyi (NC) 1. *tinder* 2. *flame* [yurra (1) + -tyi, cf. Nm *yurralli*]
- yurrurn (NC) 1. *hair* 2. *fur* [cf. Pn *yurrkurn*]
- yurrurnkarlaa (NC) *hairy, furry* [yurrurn + -karlaa]
- yurrurnkarlaarri- (VØ) *grow hair or fur* [yurrurnkarlaa + -rri-]
- yurriwi- (VN) 1. *scrape* 2. *shave*, e.g. ----- *tyawurtau: shave a beard* (OBJ) [cf. Nm *yurripi-*]
- Yurtarriny (NP) *Gilbert Bobby*
- yurti (NC) *true, not off: 1a. good-tasting, sweet 1b. pleasant tune 2. bnd. form straight*
- yurtingkaa- (VL) ----- *kurriyartau nganingka: aim a throwing spear* (OBJ) *at something* (LOC) [yurti- + -ngka (1) + -ka-]
- yutyu (NC) *small turd*
- yutyurli (NC) *Schomburgk's skink* [yutyu + -rli]
- yuu (NC) *respect lang. = ngaa* [cf. Ny *yu*, Yi *ngau*]
- yuurru (NC) *respect lang. dog* [ordinary lang. in Ku; cf. Nm, Pn, Ny *yukurru*]
- yuwa (NC) *seduction, romance* [cf. Tr *yuki sexual intercourse*]
- yuwakarri- (VØ) *be seductive, get romantic* [yuwa + -karri-]
- yuwarta (NC) *fire built in a shallow depression* [cf. Pn *yukarta*]
- yuwartaa- (VL) *cook in a yuwarta* [yuwarta + -ra (1b) + -ka-]
- yuya (NC) *quail* [cf. Nm *yutya*]
- yuyu (NC) *music* [cf. WD *tyutyu song*]
- yuyumaa (NC) 1. *musician* 2. *musical instrument* [yuyu + -maa]

## APPENDIX A

### *Key to Abbreviations*

abl., ABL	ablative
all., ALL	allative
app.	apparent, apparently
arch.	archaic, archaism
Bj	Bandjalang
bnd.	bound
borr.	borrowing, borrowed
By	Bayungu
C	in ( ) = clitic or as noted otherwise = consonant
coll.	colloquial, colloquialism
com.	common
COM	comitative
DIR	direct
du	dual
Dy	Dyirbal
Eng	English
GEN	genitive
I	indeclineable
imp.	imperative
IND	indirect
inf.	infinitive
inst., INST	instrumental
irr.	irrealis
Ka	Kariera
Ku	Kurrama
lang.	language
l.c.	lower case
lit.	literally

loc., LOC	locative
M	mora
Ma	Marduthunira
N	in ( ) = noun
	otherwise = nasal
Nb	Ngiyambaa
NC	common noun
NDn	cardinal noun declining like 'north'
NDs	cardinal noun declining like 'south'
Ng	Ngarla
Nl	Nyamal
Nm	Ngarluma
nom., NOM	nominative
NP	proper noun
Nr	Nyungar
NR	retroflex noun
Nu	Nuwala
Ny	Nyangumarda
Ø	nothing (structural zero)
obl.	oblique
obj., OBJ	objective
obs.	obsolete
P	pronoun
PC	pronoun declined like NC
Pd	Purduna
PI	indeclineable pronoun
pl.	plural
Pl	Pailgu
Pn	Pandjima
poss.	possible, possibly
pot.	potential
PP	pronoun declined like NP
PPm	Proto-Paman
PPN	Proto-Pama-Nyungan
PR	pronoun declined like NR
pres.	present
prf.	perfective
prob.	probable, probably
redup.	reduplicated
S	in ( ) = suffix
	otherwise = stop

sec.	section
sg.	singular
Tj	Tjururu
Tl	Thalandji
Tr	Thargari
trans.	translation
u.c.	upper case
V	in ( ) = verb
	otherwise = vowel
var.	variant
VL	'L'-stem verb
VN	'N'-stem verb
VOC	vocative
VØ	'Ø'-stem verb
VR	'R'-stem verb
Wa	Walmartjari
WD	Western Desert Language (certain dialects)
Yd	Yidiṯ
Yi	Yindjibarndi
*	unattested
-	bound form or word ending
----	ditto entry
_____	translation of attached item
+	plus (concatenator)
=	is equated with
→	is replaced by
<	comes from
>	goes to



## APPENDIX B

### *Key to Interlinear Symbols*

This key contains a list of suffixes and clitics, which the reader will find useful in the analysis of the Texts and example sentences in the Grammar. In this regard he should be aware of the fact that commas separate variants of endings which are phonologically conditioned, while semicolons are employed to segregate those which are morphologically conditioned. The interlinear itself primarily contains analyses which are relevant to the domain of syntax. Thus, purely morphological derivations of words are not normally presented. These are given in the Dictionary.

ABL	Ablative Case Marker: -ngu
ABL LOC	Ablatival Locative Case Marker: -rni
ACCT	on account of: -ngaala
AGT	Agentive Suffix = HAB
ALLOC	Allocative Suffix: -nyaa
ANA	Anaphoric Clitic: -mu
AP	Augmented Demonstrative Pronoun Classifier: -na
BEC	Causal Suffix: -rra
BOTH	both, pair, couple, duo: -kula, -ula, -la
CAUS	Causative Verbalizer: -pima-, -wima-, -yirraa-, -lrraa-
COM	Comitative Case Marker: -pari, -wari
CONTRA	Contrast Clitic: -rtu
DEIC	Deictic Clitic: -yi, -i, -Ø
DEP	Dependent Imperfective Aspect Marker: -yangu
DET	Determiner: -yhu, -yu
DIR ALL	Direct Allative Case Marker: -karta, -warta, -(o)orta, -arta, -rta; -pathaa, -wathaa
DRN ALL	Directional Allative Case Marker: -kurru, -urru
DU	Dual Number Marker: -kuyha, -uyha, -yha
DUB	Dubitative Clitic: -rra
DWELL	dweller: -nyungu; -partu, -wartu
EMP	Emphatic Clitic: -pa, -wa
FACT	Factitive Verbalizer: -ma-, -ka-, -wa-, -a-, -Ø-, -tya-; -yhu-, -pi-, -wi-, -yi-, -i-, -rra-, -a-, -ra-, -a-, -rni-
GEN	Genitive Case Marker: -arnrtu, -rnrtu
HAB	Habitual Aspect Marker: -marta; -nmarta; -rnmarta
IMP	Imperative Mood Marker: -ma; -nma; -rnma
IMPRF	Imperfective Aspect Marker: -ngu; -rnu; -nu
INCHO	Inchoative Verbaliser: -warni-, -rri-, -ri-, -tyarri-; -karri-, -warri-, -arri-, -rri-; -rrari-, -ari-, -rarri-, -(a)arri-; -ngull-

IND ALL	Indirect Allative Case Marker: -purraa, -wurraa, -urraa, -rraa
INF	Infinitive Aspect Marker: -(a)angu, -(aa)ngu; -langu
INST	Instrumental Case Marker: -ngku, -u; -lu, -tu, -rtu, -tyu, -u; -rtu
INTNS	Intensifier: -parlu, -warlu
IRR	Irrealis Mood Marker: -yingu, -ingu, -wayingu; -kayingu
LIKE	Semblative Suffix: -kaa, -waa, -aa, -a, -Ø
LOC	Locative Case Marker: -ngka, -wa, -a; -la, -ta, -rta, -tya, -a; -rta; -t, -Ø-; -yu
MS	Morpheme Separator: -ty-, -y-, -th-, -yh-
OBJ	Objective Case Marker: -yi, -i; -ku, -u, -Ø; -ngu
ONE	one: -tu, -rru-; -rtu
OPT	Optative Mood Marker: -yaa; -tyaa
PASS	Passivizer: -nguli-
PASS OPT	Passive Optative Mood Marker: -nyaa; -nnyaa; -rnnnyaa
PASS PRF	Passive Perfective Aspect Marker: -yangaarnu; -rnaarnu; -naarnu
PAST	Past Tense Marker: -nha; -rna; -na
PL	Plural Number Marker: -ngarli; -pathaa, -wathaa; -rra; -ngaa; -warrangu; -pirri, -wirri; -kurru, -urru
PN	Proper Noun Classifier: -nha
POSS	Proprietary Suffix: -karlaa, -warlaa, -arlaa, -rlaa
POT	Potential Mood Marker: -yi, -i, -wayi; -kayi
PRES	Present Tense Marker: -Ø; -ku
PRF	Perfective Aspect Marker: -(a)ayi, -(aa)yi; -kaayi
PRIV	Privative Suffix: -parrimarta, -warrimarta
PROG	Progressive Aspect Marker: -ngumarnu; -rnumarnu; -numarnu
QUES	Interrogative Clitic: -nta
RECIP	Reciprocal Verbalizer: -marri-; -nytyarri-, -yinytyarri-; -nmarri-; -rnmarrri-
RN	Retroflex Noun Classifier: -rna

SORT	Categorial Clitic: -purtu, -wurtu, -urtu, -rtu
STICK	sticking out, manifest(ed): -pi, -wi
SUF	suffix
SUPER	superlativizer: muntiyhu
TOP	Topic Clitic: -mpa, -pa
TRU	Truth Clitic: -nyu
TURN	Sequence Clitic: -purtaa, -wurtaa, -urtaa, -rtaa
VOC	Vocative Suffix: -yi, -i; -u
-	morpheme boundary
( )	included morpheme may not be easily separated from the preceding one: look the word up in the Dictionary

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